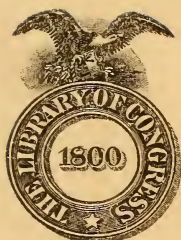


Socialism
THE NATION
OF
FATHERLESS CHILDREN

DAVID GOLDSTEIN
MARTHA MOORE AVERY



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SOCIALISM:

THE NATION
OF
FATHERLESS CHILDREN

DAVID GOLDSTEIN
AND
MARTHA MOORE AVERY

THOMAS J. FLYNN & CO
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THE STATE.

To our Country, in the defence
of economic justice ; of domestic
integrity ; of civil and religious
liberty ; this book is dedicated.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

When in 1903 we presented the first edition of "Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children" to the public we had only a very few friends, true blue. The public press paid but little attention to socialist propaganda; and to the general public the movement was known by a phrase or two which signified condemnation without understanding or by those of approval which rested upon equally unknown ground.

This indifference had given to socialists a foothold in the nation. Abnormal fortunes were matched by abnormal ambitions that had been aroused here and there amongst the members of the working class. These proletarian comrades in association with their intellectual leaders were preying upon the hopes and fears of their fellow workers, many of whom were receiving an unjust wage and were even so in constant dread of unemployment.

On the other hand the occasion was ripe for interesting the illy educated middle class in the *science* of poverty—that it is all due to the *system*—and for enlisting its sympathy for the under dog, as their own fortunes were feeling the blight of "the trusts."

This much was certain, that for socialist wares it was a rapidly rising market, and that for anti-socialist literature there was none at all.

We were neither disturbed nor disappointed at the reception of the book by the socialist press. Indeed we forecasted precisely what its reception would be, namely, silence more or less deep so long as the book had no added strength behind it; and then, for we were confident that the time would come when some force in the country would awaken to the menace of socialism, the knights of the quill would say what they would say. We had learned that the code of ethics of the morally irresponsible demanded successful propaganda. Hence those means were right that made progress. Progress had to them

ceased to have any but one meaning—an advance towards the view of the “class-conscious.” Going any other way, towards right-reason for instance, was, with a shrug of contempt, “reactionary,” or *intellectual dope*.

What then was the support of our confidence? Simply the consciousness of the integrity of our intention. Our inner circle of three was secure in the belief that we would pay the price demanded by the occasion for the possession of truth, be that progress toward it never so thorny and rough.

But precisely what the socialist press said about “Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children” may be of interest. We quote:

“The falsehoods of the Avery-Goldstein ‘household’ will be effectually run down, for the socialists campaign the year around, and another year will find such enemies powerless to further deceive the people, while the socialist advance will surprise the plutes as much as did the big gain of a year ago.” (*Social Democratic Herald*, 11-14-1903.)

“A vile and slanderous book which has been taken up by certain anti-socialist priests, has also caught the eye it appears, of Samuel Gompers, who is trying to protect his job by despairing and vain efforts to keep socialism out of the American Federation of Labor, and he has written an autograph endorsement of the book.” (*Social Democratic Herald*, Milwaukee 9-5-1904.)

“They were very careful not to send the book out to the socialist press. It is full of malicious untruth, dishonest quotations from so-called socialist authorities, and rumor has it that the National Republican Committee helped the pair to finance this one legitimate ‘child.’” (*Social Democratic Herald*, 5-14-1904.)

“Wonder what has become of Martha Moore Avery and her affinity, Goldstein? It is about time they found a purchaser with either Parker or Roosevelt, in defense of the family. But it seems to be rather a poor fakir market this year—no competition between buyers and an over-production of commodities of the fakir kind.” (Editorial, *Chicago Socialist*, 9-3-1904.)

“A mass of foul lies.” (*Chicago Daily Socialist*, 3-20-1909.)

“. . . has long since joined the Goldstein-Avery Company. The initiation fee is a few articles against socialism, guaranteed not to contain a spark of truth.” (*The New York Call*, 5-4-1909.)

Resolution: condemning Mr. Samuel Gompers, “(for a) base misuse of his official position by giving his official endorsement to a vile, scurrilous misrepresentation of the science of socialism.” (*The Appeal to Reason*, 11-12-1904.)

'Hillquit, Spargo, London, Simons, Wayland, Warren, Vail, Sanial, Hanford, Ghent, DeLeon, Wentworth, Hunter and a host of other American socialist authors and writers are all conveniently ignored by Mr. Roosevelt. Their books are in all our public libraries, but Mr. Roosevelt can find nothing in them, not even a line in a single one, to serve his malign purpose, and so he stoops down to the gutter and picks up, dripping with filth, 'Socialism: the Nation of Fatherless Children,' and bespatters the once-clean pages of *The Outlook* with its loathsome slime.' (Eugene V. Debs in, *The Appeal to Reason*, 5-1-1909.)

(A letter received by the Publishers of "Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children.")

"The Union News League:—

"ORANGE, N. J., Aug. 31, 1904.

" . . . I do not know if your firm has any standing in the community or not, but if you have it only goes to prove that the socialist contention is right, that Capitalism tends to debauch and corrupt all the means of information by the use of the sources of wealth. What a grand combination for the future Socialist Historian to dwell upon. The Traitors will go down in history with the Benedict Arnolds, etc.

"But after all we socialists should be grateful that such stuff is being published as it proves conclusively that Capitalism is becoming desperate in using such means to perpetuate its existance.

"Trusting that in the future you will be engaged in better work,

"I remain a socialist,

"W. B. KILLINGBECK,

"Secretary, State Committee of the Socialist Party of New Jersey."

The International Socialist Review, Chicago, Ill., May 1904.

BOOK REVIEW.

'Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children' . . .

"This work has generally been passed over by the socialist press without notice. The reason for this is at once apparent to the socialist reader. The arguments are so palpably fallacious and the quotations from socialist authors so flagrantly unfair that the impression which it leaves upon the socialist reader is simply that no one of any intelligence would be affected by it. It must be remembered, however, that the book was not written for people of intelligence. The book is intended for circulation among the ignorant and bigoted followers of theological leaders. It is intended to create a prejudice in their minds which will prevent them from reading and reasoning about socialist literature. That it might have an effect among such people there is no doubt. The whole aim and object of the book is to show that socialists are endeavoring to introduce a state of sexual promiscuity.

" . . . There is a peculiar style about the book which suggests to one who is familiar with the Jesuitical anti-socialist writings of Europe, that other hands than those that appear upon the title page have had something to do with its preparation. There is a peculiar set of double meanings running through it which characterize all the European writings referred to above, but which have hitherto been absent from the anti-socialist writings of the country.

"The idea is carried throughout the work that socialism is hypocritical and presents two faces, one to the public for propaganda purposes, the other to converts, and that there is a sort of inner circle wherein the 'mysteries of socialism' are taught to the adepts. To this inner circle only are The Communist Manifesto and the materialistic interpretation of history known. . . . It is worth while that socialists should somewhat familiarize themselves with this sort of stuff, since if the present crusade of the Catholic church continues, it is probable that more books of a similar character will appear. It would be the easiest thing in the world to go through the book and pick out ridiculous and erroneous statements, but this would by no means have any effect in counteracting the work of the book, since it does not appeal to the intellect but to the prejudice."

Very little else has been said about the book by the socialist press. But the second edition of "Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children" is, we believe, destined to receive more notice—of the same kind.

To the American public this work is now entrusted. If it shall play the part intended, it shall be of some little service in stimulating the belief that none other than God is the Author of nations and none other than patriots shall keep alive and cherish Social Justice and a sound heart in our body politic.

Boston,

Independence Day

1911

INTRODUCTION.

"What in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support;
That to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence
And justify the ways of God to men."

—MILTON.

WHEN a movement attracts to itself so large a following as socialism has, it is deserving of serious consideration. Does the power of its attraction lie in its analysis or in its condemnation of existing forms or in its promise of establishing a higher order of society?

Careful study of the socialist movement will prove that its centre of attraction is its negative condemnatory attitude rather than in its positive understanding of the underlying causes and conditions which press upon the public conscience for solution; that its attractiveness lies in its promise of a new mould for the whole existing order rather than in its understanding of those principles which make for true progress.

On the destructive side socialism stands for the abolition of the present educational, religious, family, social and economic forms of society. While on the constructive side it declares for the ownership of economic capital by the people organized into a "business administration." The other departments of governmental activity will be abolished. Each and every person will be allowed the free exercise of personal will, without the communities' hand showing itself in legal or other form of authority. "The place of a government over persons is taken by the administration of things." ("Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Frederick Engels).

"Under socialism the government will have no other function but the administration of the public industries. Socialism is opposed to all interference with the personal liberties of the people." (*Appeal to Reason*, July 11th, 1903.)

Socialists complain, and justly so, that many of its opponents quote Spencer, Duehring, Sombart, Boehm Bawerk, Ely, Flint, Rae, Kirkup and others of kindred schools as authority on socialism. They argue "you would not quote Tom Paine or Ingersoll as authorities on the divine inspiration of the Bible—why quote our opponents as authority on socialism?" This error we shall strictly avoid. We shall listen to the evidence and take the testimony from the mouth and pen of the recognized national and international authorities on modern socialism. For our desire is that the socialist position may be clearly understood by the men who cast their votes in favor of a socialist political program, that the responsibility of this knowledge may rest upon those men when entering the sacred precincts of the voting booths should they ask themselves the question, "Is it to the best interest of the men, women and children of the present generation and of generations to come, to centralize political power into the hands of men who are committed to the philosophy of socialism?"

One point must be clearly understood by the reader, which is that it is not our purpose to analyze the evils from which men suffer owing to unjust economic conditions—or from otherwise unfavorable causes—neither is it our purpose to offer a panacea for any of them. But our object rather is to present unquestionable data which will allow a comprehensive view of the quality of the forces which are gathering for political expression under the socialist banner.

Certainly men who impartially investigate the economic unrest which disturbs the whole social fabric will find many evils justly entitled to severe condemnation by those who seek a higher standard of industrial life. It is true that we have a degree of aristocracy in industry which is out of harmony with the fullness of our democracy in government. But after all is said about the terrible economic conditions that prevail—the deeper—the more important—the vital question, which requires the will of a Moses, the head of an Aaron and the heart of the Nazarene to solve, is what shall be done to soften the human heart, to elevate the human mind, and to discipline the human will, that social harmony may be the possession of man?

The socialist is quick to give his answer, dissolve the present order! Having walled himself within the narrow breastworks of "economic determinism," his concept of the state, the family and the industrial world covers only the distance encompassed by the dim light of atheistic understanding. He fails to see the length, breadth and depth of the present order: The advantages which we enjoy, despite the disadvantages given as a result of the establishment and development of the state which protects life, liberty and property and guarantees the system of free contracts. He fails to realize the divine institution of the family in its monogamic form—fails to distinguish between a family and a collection of persons as the necessary basis of organized society. He fails to see that industry is established upon and is maintained upon the basis of equity. How easy! The state? abolish it. The family? make it free—abolish its legal and ecclesiastical forms. The industries? let the people confiscate the capital and own it in common. Socialists would throw over the inheritance of all the centuries; pull down the experience that has led the race out of darkness. Blinded by the spirit of hatred, they centre the mind on the economic conditions as the fundamental cause of all social evils.

Some men dealing scientifically with sociological matters examine the phenomenon which presents itself, seeking to correct present abuses—seeking to erect new forms to replace outworn methods. While socialists, in unscientific, irrational manner, seek the complete overthrow of the present form of society, putting forth as a substitute brilliant but speculative conditions, which in the nature of things and from all data extant has experimentally been proven impracticable.

This conclusion is not the thought of a day, but the deliberate judgment of those who had been intoxicated with the socialist vision of a coöperative commonwealth, where equality of industrial opportunity would regulate all human affairs, substituting this alluring prospect for those supreme religious qualities which shall one day turn spears into ploughshares and swords into pruning hooks.

Painfully recovering from this intellectual debauch, with sober earnest we set to work examining critically the quality of literature and the character of the movement, which resulted in our severing all connection with socialist organizations.

Materialistic Doctrine of Socialism.

"Could great men thunder
As Jove himself does, Jove would ne'er be quiet,
For every pelting, petty officer,
Would use his heaven for thunder;
Nothing but thunder. Merciful Heaven!
Thou rather, with thy sharp and sulphurous bolt,
Splitt'st the unwedgeable and gnarl-ed oak,
Than the soft myrtle: but man, proud man!
Drest in a little brief authority
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence,—like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As make the angels weep."

—MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

WE shall show that the socialist movement rests upon and proceeds more or less logically from a mere materialist basis—that it concerns itself with the questions of wealth production and distribution mainly because in its view the conditions under which economic necessities are produced form the fundamental groundwork from which all social, intellectual, religious and other institutions emanate. Frederick Engels puts it as follows:

"The juridical, philosophical, and religious ideas are the more or less remote offshoots of the economical relations existing in a given society."

The Appeal to Reason (June 6, 1903) says:

"The economic conditions of any country, at any period, form the basis of all human effort. All social, political, legal, moral and religious institutions are built upon the economic basis."

George D. Herron, under the caption, "There cannot be any Reconciliation Between Capital and Labor," in *The Metropolitan Magazine* and *The Appeal to Reason* (May 16, 1903) writes:

"Socialism begins with this—that the history of the world has been economic. The world's sentiments and religions, its laws and morals,

its art and literatures, are all rooted in the struggle between classes for the control of the food supply. Moses and Jesus, Wickliffe and Massini, Marx and Millet are products of the stress and injustice of intensified economic conditions. War is but a final mode of economic competition. Religions, in their first and purest expressions, are all economic revolts—appeals and protests against the ownership of souls involved in economic ownership.

“Laws, creeds, governments, morals, and arts are chiefly the expression of those who have lived off of other people, and who have made laws and religions, and arts and morals for the purpose of compelling these others to support them while they should fight or preach or make laws or write books.”

At the last Socialist National Convention delegate Ernest Untermann sets forth not alone the fact of the movement's opposition to Christianity but also shows the method of making atheists. Instruction in the “logical consequences” of socialism upon religion is to be given, privately, after membership cards have been taken out. We quote from the official Proceedings (1908):

“Comrades, no one will accuse me with any sympathy with Christianity as a church or as a religion. I am known in the United States as a materialist of the most uncompromising order. . . . I want it understood that my materialist dialectics do not permit me to forget the exigencies of the moment for our ideals in the far future.

“Would you expect to go out among the people of this country, people of different churches, of many religious factions, and tell them that they must become atheists before they can become socialists? That would be nonsense. We must first get these men convinced of the rationality of our economic and political program, and then after we have made socialists of them and members of the Socialist Party, we can talk to them inside of our ranks, talk of the higher philosophy and of the logical consequences of our explanation of society and nature.”

These data form a correct starting point from which to view the basis of socialist doctrine and to get a glimpse of socialist logic. Socialism rests upon the assumption that all human institutions of whatever nature “are the more or less remote offshoots of the economic relations.” Or as George D. Herron more plainly puts it “The world's sentiments and religions, its laws and morals, its arts and literature, are all rooted in the struggle between classes for the control of the food supply.”

Let its defenders answer, does or does not socialism deny the validity of revealed religion, and does it attack or defend the basis upon which the church rests?

The "materialist conception of history"—the foundation-stone of socialist philosophy is clearly laid down in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Frederick Engels.

"The materialistic conception of history proceeds upon the principle that production, and, next to production, the exchange of its products, is the ground-work of every social order; and that in every social system, that has arisen historically, the distribution of the products, together with the social divisions into classes and orders, depends upon that which is produced, and the manner in which it is produced, and also upon the manner in which the articles produced are exchanged.

. . . The awakening perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that sense has become non-sense, and right wrong, is only an evidence that, in the methods of production and forms of exchange, changes have silently taken place with which the social order, fitted to the previous economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. Hereby it is at the same time implied that the means for the removal of the discovered abuses must be latent and more or less developed in the changed conditions of production themselves."

Engels' materialistic basis of history alleges that economic development causes to be built up and to be outgrown all human institutions, and this work is accepted as authority by the overwhelming majority of socialists of national and international repute. It was officially recommended by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, January 22, 1909.

That God ordained a religion and established His Church on earth plays no part whatsoever in their calculations.

Ernest Belfort Bax, who is perhaps no lesser authority than Engels himself, declares that "the result of economical revolution implies a correlative change in the basis of ethics and religion" ("Ethics of Socialism.") Indeed Mr. Bax is at the head of this department. *The Social Democrat*, the official organ of the Social Democratic Federation of London, England, says in its issue of January, 1903, "Bax is the philosophic reasoner and exponent of socialist theory and doctrine," of the world-wide movement.

The American movement rates the materialistic philosopher no less highly: "Bax is the most accomplished writer on behalf

of socialism in this and perhaps in any country." (*The Call*, April 8, 1909).

Certainly it is not a superficial attack which socialism makes upon the belief in the Creator of the universe. At one fell swoop they would take the ground from under all faith in God.

But listen to Marx ("Capital," Chicago Edition, 1906, page 91), "Christianity with its *cultus* of abstract man, more especially in its bourgeois developments; Protestantism, Deism, etc., is the most fitting form of religion" in which the present mode of exchange of commodities takes place. Let us take further testimony from *The Appeal to Reason* (May 16, 1903).

"Fifty-five years have now passed by since Karl Marx formulated his materialist conception of history, and gave to the world its first science of economics. The 'Communist Manifesto' reads like a document written yesterday. . . . When Marx analyzed society and found that ethics, morals and religions are all the products of economic or material conditions, he was able to predict with certainty the future conduct of society, even as does the astronomer predict the coming of an eclipse."

Here is hard, cold materialism in a nutshell. The socialist creed has it that as God is an imaginary being, his nature is changed every time improved methods of production come into vogue.

Of course if this view were as scientific as the predicted coming of an eclipse it were then necessary for socialism neither to attack religion nor to instruct its converts as to the "logical consequences" of its atheist philosophy. Because as the socialist régime were establishing itself God and religion would fade away and finally depart.

New comers are generally quite innocent of the "logical consequences" of socialist propaganda. But the denial of its underlying principles is more often the deliberate attempt to conceal from the general public the real import of its aims in the interest of gathering numerical strength. Equivocal statement is always prompted by the desire to make the doctrine as little distasteful to the camp followers and sympathizers as possible.

The late Thomas McGrady was a most successful propagandist, but his Christianity was too deeply ingrain to permit

the view that the church must of necessity fall in upon itself once the co-operative commonwealth were established. Father McGrady insisted that:

"Socialism does not beget atheism any more than chemistry begets infidelity. Socialism is an economic science, not a religious creed. We must look elsewhere for the causes of atheism than in socialism. The so-called father of the Democratic Party, Thomas Jefferson, was an infidel; and Robert Ingersoll, the agnostic, was a leading Republican in his day."

Granted, for the sake of argument, that Jefferson was an infidel, certainly that does not prove that the democratic party is committed to a program of infidelity, for the good reason that Jefferson's "bible" is not accepted as the bulwark of the democratic program. Yes, Ingersoll was an agnostic, an intellectual bluffer. But Ingersoll's irrational attacks upon religion and the church are not circulated by the republican party as the basis of its philosophy. Therefore, what rational analogy is there in McGrady's statement, considering the fact that the irreligious teachings of Marx and Engels are circulated as fundamental propaganda matter? That the "materialistic concept of history," which is a gross denial of the *rationale* of revealed religion, is generally accepted by socialists, not alone in the United States but throughout the civilized world in past cavil. Let us restate it in Marx's own words:

"The life process of society, which is based on the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan. This, however, demands for society a certain material groundwork or set of conditions of existence which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long and painful process of development." ("Capital," page 92.)

The dispute of new comers with the well seasoned members as to socialism being a purely economic question is not new to the history of the party. Ernest Belfort Bax whose opinions we have shown to be of international importance—but we will allow socialists to bespeak him fair:

"Ernest Belfort Bax is one of the best known and most versatile and accomplished socialists of Europe. His published works form a

small library in themselves and are everywhere held in highest respect by the recognized leaders of the international socialist movement. Perhaps the best known of his works are: 'The Religion of Socialism,' 'Ethics of Socialism,' 'Outspoken Essays,' 'Outlooks from the new Standpoint,' 'Life of Jean Paul Marat,' 'Handbook of the History of Philosophy,' 'Story of the French Revolution,' 'A Short History of the Paris Commune,' and, in conjunction with William Morris, 'Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome.' This quite formidable list represents, I believe, less than half of his original works, in addition to which are numerous translations, including a volume of Schopenhauer's *Essays*, and Kant's 'Foundations of Natural Science.'

"Born in Warwickshire, England, in 1854, he studied in Germany—music first, then philosophy. The Paris Commune of 1871 aroused his sympathy and led him to study socialism. He was one of the founders of the Social Democratic Federation in England and during the twenty odd years which have elapsed since then he has ever been an active worker in the cause. It was he who first induced William Morris to join the socialist movement. He is a familiar figure at all international congresses of the socialist movement." ("The Comrade," New York December, 1902).

In his review of Kirkup's, "An Inquiry into Socialism," Mr. Bax says, editorially in "The Commonweal," Vol. 4, No. 116:

"While fully agreeing with those socialists who would avail themselves of all, even the most apparently trifling efforts tending to raise the present condition of the working classes, . . . yet nevertheless I think too strong a protest cannot be raised against the habit of either blinking or minimising the ideal which all true socialists have in view. It is undeniable that there are certain well-meaning but 'philistine' persons who are forever going about with tongue and pen trying to convince weak minded and timid hearers or readers that the modern proletarian mountain is, after all, only pregnant with a sort of big mouse. The way they do this is sometimes specious, and hence it is difficult to convict them *in flagrante delicto*. For instance, their first proceeding is to draw a ring-fence round economics and insist that socialism is economical and has nothing to say on any other aspect of human life than that of the production and distribution of wealth."

Mr. Bax proceeds to elucidate the issue in his critique upon Kirkup's "Chapter on Current Views of Socialism."

(1.) "Mr. Kirkup starts with the marriage question. The opposition between the 'bourgeois property marriage' and that which will take its place is of course sought to be toned down. While admitting that

most leading socialists have attacked the modern or Christian marriage with its indissolubility or quasi-indissolubility, Mr. Kirkup 'cannot see that *as a theory of economic organization* socialism can have any special teaching adverse to marriage and the family.' Now this is because Mr. Kirkup chooses to set up a ring-fence again, ignoring his own definition of socialism given above as 'a theory of social organization, based on a new scheme of economic organization.' The passage quoted above implies that there is only one form of marriage and the family, that of the modern Christian and the bourgeois. Of course as a '*theory of economic organization*,' socialism need not have any special teaching 'adverse' to this; but as a matter of practice the modern marriage and modern family is sustained by the modern system of property, and when the latter gives place to something else, so must the former: It is also not true to say that the views on this question of the 'leading socialist writers' referred to as attacking the present marriage system, have been 'strenuously opposed within the socialist schools.' I challenge Mr. Kirkup to show a single case in point.

(2.) "Socialism is 'by many' believed to be hostile to Christianity, etc. Of course here Mr. Kirkup must step in and plead that 'the connection with views of this nature is purely accidental.' It is on a par with the attempt in the 'Britanica' article (vol. xxii, p. 220) to make out that socialism is not more international than any other movement (artistic or literary, for example). So here, Mr. Kirkup trots out his favorite notion about socialism not being more hostile to Christianity than Continental Liberalism. It is difficult to think that a man of Mr. Kirkup's reading can fail to see that the internationalism, like the anti-Christianism of socialism, is a very different thing from the Internationalism of art or commerce, or the anti-clericalism of the Radical. Of course, having drawn this ring-fence round the economical theory of socialism, it naturally follows that he can exclude everything else but pure economics from the essence of socialism. But this economic-and-nothing-but-economic-socialism is a 'metaphysical abstraction.' One of the greatest insights of Marx was that of the connection of the economic with the other aspects of human life. And socialism as a revolutionary theory of society implies an ethical, religious and political revolution as a consequence of the economic one. As such its opposition to the *present* forms of these things, which in their turn are based on the economics of present society, is a matter of socialistic principle and in nowise 'non-essential' or merely a question of temporary policy as with the Continental Liberal, who, for the rest, never contemplates anything but the curtailment of clerical influence. I would put it to Mr. Kirkup and those other professors of the 'science of socialism made easy to the middle-class philistine,' whether they think it would be compatible with socialism to have a clerical class setting themselves up as spiritual teachers and living on the labor of others, or even allow the small minority who habitually frequent 'places of worship,' to monopolize lands and buildings for the purpose of their cultus.

"Mr. Kirkup further states that socialism 'has also been associated with Christianity, Catholic and Protestant.' Now in how far is this true? In the same sense in which it has been associated with orthodox views as to the family, etc. The fact of the matter is this: Socialism has by a process of natural selection become the name of a great movement beginning with the present century, having for its end the re-organization of human life, moral and material, on a basis of equality of rights and duties. This movement, on its theoretical no less than on its practical side, is distinguished by certain well marked stages. The theory of socialism as a coherent doctrine began with the three great utopist systems of Robert Owen, Fourier and St. Simon. Not one of these systems took what I may term the abstract-economic view of the subject. They all regarded human life as an integral system, and never dreamt of separating its several aspects. They were all anti-Christian, all opposed to the modern form of marriage, and if not explicitly international they were at least implicitly so. The latter schools of French socialism have always had something to say in the same sense on the subjects of religion, marriage, and racial boundaries, that is, always in a sense hostile to the existing forms of these institutions. Finally, modern 'scientific' socialism, while accentuating the economical revolution implied in the word, has none the less insisted on the fact that the other aspects of human life must undergo a corresponding change.

"So much for the growth of socialist theory. But—and here lies the *équivoque* of Mr. Kirkup's position—concurrently with the latter form of this development of true theoretical socialism there has been a series of spurious and bastard systems, clearly distinguishable as such, and which have sprung consciously, or unconsciously for the most part, from a dread of the new economic change. They may be known by this very sign, that they appear to adopt the economic side of socialism while overtly rejecting the notion of the other social changes which that side implies. But when more nearly viewed, it will be found that they do not really accept the economic revolution at all, but merely some scheme which can be made to bear a superficial resemblance to it. Like Pharaoh's soothsayers, the bourgeois also 'did so with their enchantments.' 'Christian socialism' such as that of the Comte de Mun in France on the side of Catholicism, or of Herr Stöcker in Germany on the side of Protestantism, the various co-operative schemes with which the working classes have been from time to time deceived, belong to this spurious socialism. As the devil of mediæval fancy, or Walpurgis night, travestied the proceedings supposed to take place before the judgment seat of God, so the modern bourgeois travesties the aspirations of the real proletarian movement in a series of artificially produced counter-movements. In this sense only can it be said that socialism has been 'associated with Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant.' It is not easy to understand that those desirous of maintaining a class society, and recognizing the importance and 'danger' of socialism, think if they but hold the proletariat in leash tied to three venerable institutions, 'the hearth, the

throne, and the altar,' or any one of them, that the proletariat is by the very fact rendered harmless. 'Oh, drudge, where is thy sting? Oh, slave, where is thy victory?' Not under the ægis of Christian, philanthropic, or co-operative 'socialism' we must rest assured.

"I have desired under the form of a review of Mr. Kirkup's new book, where the practice appears in its rankest form, to call attention to the illegitimacy of the attempt so often made nowadays to limit the word socialism, in a mechanical manner, to the sphere of economics—while objection is taken to its being applied to what the economical change implies in other departments of human activity. Such a limitation is not logically nor historically valid."

From an authority which to this time (1911) is recognized as the highest is here not adequate proof that the materialism upon which socialism is grounded insists that "free love" and no God are integral parts of its doctrinal system. Did we not, while making the futile attempt at the 1902 Massachusetts State Convention to secure the repudiation of this class of literature, insist that there was proof—overwhelming proof—that socialist classics were filled with this vile stuff? That even though socialist politicians may bluff the rank and file of their camp followers, yet "the damned spot will not out."

Should it be objected that this opinion is English "you know" we submit an American authority:

"We can no more hope to escape the struggle against the religion of capitalism than we may hope to escape the struggle against its economics. And we have no business attempting to escape it. Yet there has been more than a tendency in that direction in our ranks of late. 'Socialism is simply a question of economics,' says one. 'It has nothing to do with morals,' says another. 'Socialism is nothing more nor less than a matter of economic theory,' and so on. In most instances those who thus narrowly define socialism are the first to complain of what they are pleased to describe as the 'rigid and barren materialism' of the followers of Marx. They do not, apparently, see that their own fear of the issues before them, which these answers are vain attempts to evade, have made of their socialism a cold, barren, harsh materialism, without one solitary spiritual attraction. Only when we are brave enough to be true to the world, and to ourselves, concerning our faith, shall we be able to discern its full spiritual beauty. When that courage is ours, and not till then, the glory and inspiration of socialism will also be ours." (Editorial, *The Comrade*, May, 1903.)

Is materialism being outgrown as the acknowledged foundation of socialist belief? We shall take further testimony of the

last National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1908 (Official Proceedings, pp. 191-205) to witness to the fact that it is not. Although like Jack in the box, now you see it and now you don't.

When politically astute delegates finesse, they must of course assume the innocence of their constituency, but when they publish the history of their falsehood, they evidently do not mind insulting the intelligence of the public. For to the least thoughtful it must seem strange indeed that as the Socialist Party "is not concerned with matters of religious belief" that the religious plank, so the *Chicago Daily Socialist* (May 18, 1908) says "precipitated a storm before which all other contests made in the convention sank into insignificance."

And was the "storm" created because some stood for and some against materialism as their basic doctrine?

It was not. The storm broke over the convention at the proposal to deny that anti-religious principles lie at the base of the socialist movement. Said delegate Strickland:

"If economic determinism be true, and if the moral and ethical principles of society be based ultimately upon the manner of economic production, how dare you then say that we have nothing to do with religion."

Delegate Arthur Morrow Lewis was at first willing to concede only so far as to "let sleeping dogs lie." He said:

"I know that the socialist position in philosophy on the question of religion does not make a good campaign subject. It is not useful in the propaganda of a presidential campaign, and therefore I am willing that we should be silent about it. But if we must speak I propose that we shall go before this country with the truth and not with a lie."

But bad faith proved to be good tactics. So at the evening session when the vote was about to be taken delegate Lewis said, after a conference with Berger, Hillquit, Work and other members of the Platform Committee: "I am willing that the plank shall remain, and I am willing to vote for it and ask those comrades who loyally supported my position this afternoon to go with me in support of that plank."

Of course *that plank* was no less a lie, no less hypocritical,

nor no more in keeping with party doctrine than it was a few hours before when delegate Lewis had said:

"Now, I do not propose to state in this platform the truth about religion from the point of view of the socialist philosophy as it is stated in almost every book of Standard Socialist literature; but if we do not do that, let us at least have the good grace to be silent about it and not make hypocrites of ourselves."

As the sleeping dogs had been aroused and the capitalist press was ready to report the barking, it was better to be hypocritical than it was to be non-tactical.

Especially as delegate Hillquit had cooled off the anti-Christian heat somewhat by saying:

"The fact that comrade Lewis as a scholar, as a student of psychology, of history, of ethics and of everything else, has in the domain of religion come to the position of an agnostic (which is merely the polite name for atheist) and that ninety-nine per cent of us have landed in the same spot, does not make socialism agnostic, nor is socialism Christian nor is socialism Jewish."

Having set the Jewish strength of the convention over against the influence of the two or three so-called Christian socialists, Hillquit adroitly reminded his comrades that to tell the truth about socialist doctrine required more courage than they possessed. He said:

"I am confident that those who have applauded, most emphatically, most noisily these utterances against the adoption of this plank, when they find themselves on the soap-box and are asked the question—'Won't your socialism destroy religion?'—will answer, 'No, we don't agree on it.' The trouble with us is that we have not always the courage of our conviction."

At this convention there were present many to revile Christianity but none to defend it. The Rev. Edward E. Carr said not a word, while the Rev. Eliot White joined in the chorus brawling its defeat. This delegate, announcing himself a Christian minister in good standing and a scientific socialist to boot, also wanted the convention to let "sleeping dogs lie." Those who won't believe that Christian institutions have got to down must find it out for themselves he said:

"I am sorry for some of my old bigoted Christian friends because they have so much to learn—Christianity is up against the biggest crisis

it has ever faced—the Reformation and everything else included—it is in the greatest danger of going to pieces—I am perfectly frank to say—that Christianity as some Christians understand it—is bound to go under, has got to go down.”

It was left for a delegate who would neither affirm nor deny himself to be a Catholic, who worked in the factory with Catholics and was supposed by them to be a Catholic to tell just how the trick could be worked of harmonizing the irreligion of socialism with the religion of his fellow-workmen if the plank were left out. Delegate Devine said:

“I am asked by the Catholics how can I be a socialist and a Catholic? Now, I want to be in a position where I can harmonize those things. I recognize that the church has taken an attitude against the Socialist Party. I know of a comrade in the factory who was refused absolution because he was a socialist. It seems to me I am forced to take the position I do to-day so that I can keep that comrade in the Socialist Party, not so much for his vote as for his strength.”

How was it then that the plank carried?

Oh, the convention was shown a better trick. For just as in honest discussion a good reason must perforce give way to a better one just so in dishonest discussion must a good trick give way to a better one. So it was that delegate Robert Hunter’s trick carried the convention by showing a better way to prove the lie that socialism “is not concerned with matters of religious belief.”

Of course there was hot shot against adopting the plank, for every delegate there acquainted with his doctrine knew that Vander Porten gave the game away when he said:

“Let it be understood that the moment the Socialist Party’s whole aim and object is to get votes, we can get them more quickly by trying to please the religionists and those whose only ambition is to pray to God and crush mankind. But—to spread forth to the world that religion is the individual’s affair and that religion has no part in the subjection of the human race; we lie when we say it.”

It was, however, delegate Berger that pointed out that the religious opposition to the Socialist Party was not a theory merely, but a concrete condition in the powerful person of the Catholic Church. “The Church,” he said, “is with the capitalist

class, without doubt, especially the church per se, the Roman Catholic Church." And then with a hop and a skip the delegate—who is now the Socialist Congressman from Milwaukee—mounted his hobby horse; and the materialist conception of history was trotted out to show that the Church was opposed by Rousseau, Voltaire and other great atheist philosophers in the Eighteenth Century just as it is now opposed by the omnipresent Berger himself. Then turning a double summersault in the air the one and only Berger landed on both sides at once. He complained while he boasted, that since his

"open discussion in the newspapers with Archbishop Messmer—there has been a constant agitation against all socialists as atheists. You can hardly find a paper in which we are not denounced as men who want to abolish all religion and God."

To meet the condition the delegate called for a masterly inactivity, for something must be done, by doing nothing, "to show that socialism, being an economic theory—or rather the name for an epoch of civilization—has nothing to do with religion either way, neither pro nor con."

And yet the plank carried, for a majority of one thought more voters and more members could be caught if the platform had something in it to prove a lie a fact. Who could dispute the fact of the printed page. It was all very well for the philosophers of the party, of course, they know how to prove that the change from baking beans in a hole in the ground to the Bostoneese mode of production is enough to convince any progressive man that there are as many gods as there are bean bakers.

And then delegate Hunter's trick was so dramatically convincing! A whole lot of delegates wanted to practice the art. For when the prospective platform had been flashed out of his pocket with the printed-fact which told the lie set firmly therein, the soap-box orators had been taught just what to say and just what to do on many prospective occasions. What if irreligion does lie as the foundation of the movement; what if all the great international leaders from all over the world way back to the days of Marx and Engels are materialists! "Here is the declaration of socialist principles" adopted at their last National convention; The Plank reads as follows:

"The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

What if every writer—Marx, Engels, Kautsky, Lafargue, Plechanoff, Bax, Hyndman, Bebel, Liebknecht—in the list of authorities given just up to date by *The Call*, on March 13, 1911, insists that the socialist movement is a fatalistic evolution from a mere "mode of motion," no one can deny the fact that the Socialist Party announces in its latest national platform that "It is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

So! truly, only as it is concerned with the propagation of irreligious belief.

Origin and Ethics of Socialism Opposed to Christianity.

"I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind. It is true that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity."

—LORD BACON.

IT has become quite the "rage" with the third rate literati to float their intellectual wares on the radical market by the use of the catch penny term socialism on the title page. That socialism should stand for any fanciful notion of a superior order which may be airily builded up in the noddle of an author is, after all, quite consistent with the quality of disorder which really lies at the bottom of its fatalistic doctrine. Mrs. Freemont Older, in "The Socialist and the Prince," dubs her hero, Dennis Kearny, the anti-Chinese agitator, a socialist. Such writing adds greatly to the socialist strength politically; while the general confusion thus created leads not only to innocent misrepresentation, but it also encourages duplicity of conduct in the interest of "spreading the cause."

The Owenites of England were the first to use the terms socialist and socialism in the work of organizing their coöperative schemes. Robert Owen, the founder, is accredited by many writers as having coined them about the year 1830.

In the early and middle part of the last century, the followers of Fourier, St. Simon and others who worked for the establishment of their "utopias of freedom" were also known as socialists.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the days of '48, at the behest of the Communist League wrote the "Manifesto"

which strictly marks the beginning of the movement which to-day is known as modern socialism. Speaking of this document the Socialist Labor Party, voicing the sentiment of socialists the world over, says:

"At a congress of the League, held in London in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical program for the party. This program was called the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. And the *Communist Manifesto*, as it is now more generally known, may be said to be the basis on which modern scientific socialism has built its world-wide structure."

The first word on the title page of this document, Communist (which is still maintained), was used to distinguish the "Internationals" from the movements of Owen, Fourier, St. Simon and others.

With the disintegration of these utopian schemes and the development of the organization headed by Marx and Engels, the word socialism became identified with the latter; as belonging generically and historically to that body of men who are organized nationally and federated internationally. Within the United States socialists are organized under the several names of Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and Social Democratic Party.

That socialism bears no kinship with Christianity the merest glance at the "Communist Manifesto" will show, for that which has already "succumbed" to rationalism has but a fancied existence—"the ignorant superstition of religion" lingers only in irrational heads.

"When the ancient world was in its last throes the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the eighteenth century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge." ("Communist Manifesto.")

In the interest of human progress the ground must be cleared of the underbrush of confusion which hides socialism proper from the view of many who are under its godless in-

fluence. Its irreligious basis must be exposed; its sophistry and duplicity must be uncovered that those who are enthusiastically looking at its glittering pictures may see the hydra headed monster so glowingly clothed which, given the power, would throw civilization into chaos.

How often is the statement made, by those new converts whose ardor outstrips their knowledge, that socialism is identical with Christianity. In "green" socialist papers and in "Literature for beginners" one may frequently read the statement that "the ethics of Christianity and socialism are identical." Investigation will conclusively prove that the ethics of socialism is as directly opposite to the ethics of Christianity as the positive is from the negative pole of human activity. Investigation will also prove that once one is thoroughly inoculated with the virus of socialist ethics it will be as difficult to get out of the slime of its ethical fluid into the clear blue light of religious ethics as it is for a fly to get out of a pan of milk into the free air.

Ernest Belfort Bax, in "The Ethics of Socialism," frankly gives the correct socialist position:

"One word on that singular hybrid, the 'Christian Socialist.' . . . The association of Christianity with any form of socialism is a mystery, rivalling the mysterious combination of ethical and other contradictions in the Christian divinity himself.

"It is difficult to divine the motive for thus preserving a name which, confessedly, in its ordinary meaning, is not only alien but hostile to the doctrine of socialism.

"If by Christianity be meant the body of dogma usually connoted by the word, it will probably be conceded by those to whom we refer that it is in hostility to progress. If on the other hand, this be not meant, but merely the ethical principles Christianity is supposed to embody, then, even if these principles were distinctly and exclusively Christian, which they are not, we challenge them to show this connection or even their compatibility with socialism. If, again, they fail in this, as fail they must, the whole matter is resolved into one of sentiment. And for the sake of retaining a catchword, for such it is, and no more, under these circumstances, they would compromise principles, and throw a sop to the *status quo* in its most hypocritical form."

We challenge those socialists who are using, ignorantly or willfully, the "Christian catchword" to accept the chal-

lenge of Bax (who is undisputed authority within the socialist camp) to show the "compatibility" of socialist and Christian ethics. It were just as fitting to speak of Christian atheism as to speak of Christian socialism, in either case the two words swear at one another! Christianity connotes the individual relationship and moral responsibility of man to his Creator; the recognition of God's revelation to man in the person of Jesus Christ, which finds its material embodiment in the Christian church. Socialism denies the existence of God and His revelation and so consequently denies the moral responsibility of man to Him. Socialism declares the Christian religion to be a result of economic evolution; it predicts its annihilation upon the introduction of a "classless" society.

Of course as the predication of a "*classless*" society is *naivete* itself, the Christian may indeed smile as he holds with firm belief to the promise that the "gates of hell" shall not prevail against Christ's church here on earth.

Socialism denies the moral responsibility of the individual on the assumption that each person is a mere cell within the "social organism." Arguing thus against the individual soul, socialism is cock-sure that once the "social body" has perfected its form—once the tools of production are collectively owned—once the capitalist class is abolished—the individual being emancipated from class rule, for the first time in the history of the race free-will (a product of evolution, not a gift from God), shall become a fact in human life. Hence not until the "classless society" shall have arrived are men personally responsible for good conduct. Sins there are none. While crimes are committed not by morally responsible men, for men are what the "social body" compels its warring classes to be. Its "mode of motion" is *class antagonism*. A little better sounding term than class hatred this, but all the same in meaning.

In his leading editorial entitled "*Universal Modernism*," Daniel De Leon, in socialist philosophy fast outrivalling Bax, shows the "amazing contradictions" to which Rev. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw subjects herself by preaching "out of the Bible"—either the Old or the New Testament—and at once advocating Suffrage. De Leon is right, there is nothing in the Bible to warrant Women's Suffrage. We shall, of course, assume that

every one knows that suffrage is a cardinal doctrine of socialism. To quote:

"Correctly did Auguste Comte point out that, whereas in lower stages of life, evolution takes place regardless and without the knowledge and assistance of the living body, in the upper, or Man, stage of life, evolution is materially aided by Man himself. The conditions under which lower life exists are transformed by themselves; at the Man stage he has much, though not everything, to say in the evolution of the conditions in which he lives. . . . However high the stage of life, still there clings to it some of the features of the lower. It pushes, true enough; but is itself pushed by forces it knows not of, by forces it is so little aware of that, as in the instance of the Suffragist, Rev. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, it is not infrequently driven to amazing contradictions.

"It is not the Roman Catholic Church alone that is in the throes of a Modernist upheaval. As in that church pious elements and its leading intellects, the 'Modernists,' are moving obedient to a resistless Evolutionary Force, so everywhere else. Everywhere, the sensitive elements of society are on the move—blindly, for a spell, during which one part of their being clashes, at war with the other part; presently open-eyed, when they become ONE with themselves.

"Modernism is the feature of our century." (*Weekly People*, March 25, 1911.)

Precisely! Just what then, in a word, is Modernism? Most assuredly that system of philosophy which discards one half of the basis of reason by dealing with Processes while ignoring the identity (and so the origin) of what is evolving. Hence the First Cause is obscured and abandoned; while secondary principles are taxed not alone with working out their own mission but also with the impossible task of taking the place of first principles. Here is the very pivot of the quarrel between right-reason which necessarily finds God as the ultimate cause, and the wrong reasoning of the modernist, of whatsoever school. By asking *how* to the exclusion of *what* the modernist establishes an order of investigation not to be tolerated by a truly rational system of thought.

Whether it be set down "scientifically" or with crass frankness the conflict between the ethics of socialism and of Christianity is never absent from the words of the "class conscious" members of the movement; and we submit that it were high time that Christians were as intellectually alert as their foes.

The sometime-Reverend A. M. Stirton, former editor of *The Wage-Slave*, but now editor of *Solidarity*, a socialist weekly of New Castle, Pa., "insists" that "the propaganda of scientific socialism and the practice of the Christian ministry do not make a team: The Editor has tried it." There was a time when this gentleman thought otherwise as one may gather from his confession. We quote:

"In the earlier days of his ministry the Editor thought he could be a socialist and a Methodist minister at the same time. His Presiding Elder was of other opinion:

"Your place is not in the Methodist ministry."

"Why not; don't I take good collections?"

"Yes, but you are a socialist."

"To be sure, but what of that?"

"Being a socialist you account for the evil in the world in a different way than the church does and hence you seek a different remedy. The methods of socialism and the methods of the church have nothing in common and in many vital respects are radically opposed, and to be logical you should quit one or the other."

"*The Wage-Slave* insists that the Presiding Elder was right. It is idle to deny it." (*The Wage-Slave*, June 26, 1909.)

Again, precisely! Here the issue between Christian and materialistic ethics is brought before the bar of the Moral order. Socialism insists that the sum total of evil finds its origin in the exercise of economic power by one set of men over others. Hence the origin of evil lies in "man's inhumanity to man." Hence also evil is evolutionary in its nature, what is wrong becoming right according to circumstances and *vice versa*.

Being caused by man's offenses against man, evil shall become extinct by a co-operative system of production which shall destroy the economic power of the capitalist. Universal wealth together with a "classless society" is relied upon to establish heaven on earth—the only one materialism knows anything about.

Christian ethics lays down the principle of right-reason; it goes behind secondary causes to the original cause. God does not, indeed, create evil, that is man's work. The first cause of evil, the ultimate origin of evil lies in the fact of man's disobedience to God's will that man shall love Him first above all

and serve Him always. Secondary evils are created by the individual refusal to perform the tasks assigned by Providence—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." So it is that Christian ethics stands fast by free-will and moral responsibility while materialist ethics staying its process of thought this side of the last step in logic thus leaves undiscovered the basis of right-reason. Consequently individual responsibility is conceived as a product of evolution—a progressively better form—with mechanical motion as its basic determinant. On the subject of which Bax is master, kindly permit him to speak:

"According to Christianity and the ethics or religion of introspection generally, regeneration must come from within, must begin in the heart and mind of the individual. The ethic and religion of modern socialism, on the contrary, look for regeneration from without, from material conditions and a higher social life. The ethic and religion of socialism seek not the ideal society through the ideal individual, but conversely the ideal individual through the ideal society." ("Ethics of Socialism," page 19.)

This is plain enough! Bread and butter—a plenty of it for society will make the individual man moral!

Mary E. Marcy, one of the editors of the *International Socialist Review*, in her story "Out of the Dumps" puts the ethics of socialism into the vernacular: "Take keer of the stummiks, sez I, and the morals'll take keer o'themselves."

Whether we quote from De Leon on March 29, 1911 or from Dr. Aveling who played an important role during many years from the inception of the movement, the materialist doctrine is never absent as the ethical basis of socialism.

Edward B. Aveling was professor of chemistry and physiology at New College, London, England. He was also professor of comparative anatomy at the London Hospital. A member of the London School Board in 1882, vice-president of the National Secular Society, from which he was forced to resign. His chief literary works are, "Student's Marx," "Student's Darwin," "Heackel's Pedigree of Man," and the translation of "Marx's Capital," vol. 1, also the translation of Engels' "Socialism."

Perhaps after all Dr. Aveling was best known to the rank and file as the "free husband" of Karl Marx's daughter who met such a tragic death—a fitting consummation of their

utter defiance of religious and moral obligation within the family sphere.

Dr. Aveling writes, in *To-Day*, a socialist magazine:

"Whether anything is done or nothing is done, little that is of any real or lasting value can be done until men and women fairly face the fact that the terrible condition of our poor is due, as are so many other ills, to the two curses of our country and time. These two curses are Capitalism and Christianity.

"Mr. Headlam is sorry I do 'not think it worth while to expose the evils of capitalism. I do. But I know that others are at this good work, and I know that Christianity and Capitalism support, and are supported by, each other. They are Siamese twins. They live, they die together. A blow at one, is a blow at both. Christianity is a pander to Capitalism, bringing to it for prey the fair virgin called Labor, beguiled by the hope of a beatific hereafter.

"We can scarcely wonder that certain impetuously honest natures among the socialists exclaim against the admission of priests to the party. The priest in this respect is in the same position as the capitalist. He is a monopolist. A capitalist can join the socialist party as an individual, and will be welcomed as a man. But he must denounce even if he cannot renounce, his capitalism. The priest also is admissible to our human, earthly, natural society as an individual, and is welcome as a man, but he must denounce his priesthood and all its pretensions to relation with the supernatural. And whilst we cannot fairly, or for the time wisely ask the capitalist to give up his sources of income, and therefore of work for the good cause, we can ask the priest to do this. There are other means of livelihood more lucrative in some cases, and more honest in all.

". . . In Christianity we see not only a supporter of the greatest of social evils, but a system that by its fundamental principles vitiates human thoughts, and distracts the attention of mankind from the natural and actual. Against these therefore we fight. So indissoluble are these two, so absolutely does the happiness of the future race depend on their downfall, that we re-echo with a modification the cry of Voltaire, '*Ecrasons l'infâme*.'"

How well the demands of socialist philosophy upon the "priests" are complied with may be noted by the sometime Christian ministers who take leading parts in party propaganda. The reverend becomes in short order conspicuously absent from their names. We set down only a few who come up to mind without effort: Strickland, Stirton, Wentworth, Gaylord, Breckon, Thompson, Bentall.

There is yet better testimony to the fact that Christian practices and sentiments are not tolerated from powerful advocates of the movement, which shall be taken from the brother of the three-times national standard bearer—Eugene V. Debs. Only two Roman Catholic priests have taken part in the socialist movement of this country. One is dead, and Father Hagerty has somehow faded away. Writing of the late Father Thomas McGrady, in the *Appeal to Reason*, Jan. 11, 1908, Theodore Debs extolled him:

"He was the personification of honor and the soul of truth. I once saw him refuse to shake the hand of a socialist who had maligned him. . . .

"No man, I believe, ever came into the socialist movement with a more unselfish, sincere desire to serve it. He was literally filled and overflowing with enthusiasm. It is sad to relate that this was quenched by socialists, but nevertheless such is the fact, and I happen to know it of my own knowledge. Comrade McGrady made but few references to the men who so vindictively pursued him, but these thrusts they made at his personal integrity, and the suspicion with which their charges and insinuations surrounded him, pierced him to the heart and literally sent him to his grave.

"He fell in the happiest period of his life, and should have lived many years to serve the party, as he was so splendidly fitted to do, but like Cæsar, he was struck down in the house of his friends.

"Think of the suffering of this great heart, the abuse poured upon him by men who were known as his comrades! Little wonder that his heart bled, and at last broke of pain and sorrow.

"When McGrady, strong, yet gentle as a child, realized the envy, the jealousy and ingratitude of the very ones in whose comradeship he sought refuge from the church he had fled from, it shocked his sensibilities and his oak-like form, shattered as if by lightning, bowed in grief to rise no more.

"As true to his convictions as any man on earth was Thomas McGrady. He had the highest order of courage, too. He did not fear the capitalist enemy. That enemy he would have fought to the last ditch and over the last precipice in the service of the oppressed, but his whole nature revolted against striking back at his comrades, and controlled by this spirit he suffered in silence until his great heart was stilled forever."

We are quite sure that not even Mr. Debs himself is aware of the depth of malice in this "Turk who will tolerate nobody near his throne." Only the strictly "class conscious" may gather about the "point of the revolution," for the sufficient

reason that socialist philosophy is a fixed and rigid quality, unmixed with Christian mercy or courtesy. However fluid it may appear to enthusiastic new-comers sooner or later those who aspire to national leadership will accept the materialist basis of history as explaining the nature of man (as perhaps the Rev. E. E. Carr is now doing in his fight to rid the party headquarters from the stigma of free-love) or they will die in their agony; or better still live through the painful ordeal, well equipped with an intimate knowledge of its every movement, to glory in the defense of our Lord and our God.

How illy grounded is the faint iteration of well meaning converts that socialism and Christianity are identical ethically in face of the many stout assertions of acknowledged international leaders. James Leatham says:

"What we have to do on behalf of the ethics of the Social-Democratic State is to separate them from precepts enjoining duty to God and from any other commands for which there is no social and secular warrant." ("Socialism and Character," page 43.)

Here we present an outspoken editorial by John Spargo from *The Comrade* (New York, May, 1903).

"Let us turn our eyes from what we find satisfaction in seeing, to ourselves. Candor compels the admission that the pallor of fear and the paralysis of its impotency are upon us. We have lost the courage of our faith, if indeed, we ever had it to lose.

"Take, for example, the question of ethics. How often do we see quoted in our own press, from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that familiar fallacy that 'the ethics of Christianity and socialism are identical.' It is not true; we do not ourselves, in most cases, believe it. We repeat it because it appeals to the slave-mind of the world. It is easier so to act, than to affirm, what in our very souls we feel to be true, that socialism as an ethical interpretation of life is far removed from Christianity, and of infinitely greater beauty and worth. The ethics of Christianity, like its practices, are characterized by a monstrous disregard of the common life. Christianity and tyranny are and for ages have been firmly allied. The ethical teaching of Jesus even was not socialism; even his pure, sweet spirit had no clear concept of that great common-life standard which the race was destined to reach through centuries of struggle and pain. But the system which bears His name never knew the ethical teaching of Jesus. There is no wrong, however terrible, which has not been justified by Christianity; no movement for human liberty which has not been opposed by it. Its very basis is a lie and a denial of the

basic principle of socialism. Its own infidelity to the common life of the world sets it at the antithesis of socialism.

"We must be careful to avoid cramping ourselves and truncating our faith to suit the Christian measure. Christianity is not big enough, nor pure enough, nor noble enough, to measure our great world-faith. To identify socialism with Christianity we must first 'Christianize' it; we must abandon its highest and loveliest meanings. Socialism Christianized would be socialism emasculated and destroyed.

"To appeal to the slave-mind of the world, to play upon its weakness and its bondage, either by the use of such ill-founded judgments as the one quoted to support our case, or of the sacerdotal vestments and titular prestige of ecclesiasticism, is to appeal to, and by the appeal to confirm, the ignorant prejudices with which priestcraft has always held the mass-mind in bondage. It is at once a self-betrayal, and a betrayal to those from whom we appeal. Socialism needs no religion to support it, and if it did it could not receive support from outworn dogmatic Christianity. When we have the courage to take hold of it, socialism will become for each of us a religion immeasurably grander and truer than what we call religion to-day."

No, generally speaking, it is not that socialists "have lost the courage of their faith" when they assure the illy informed public that the ethics of socialism and Christianity are identical, but rather is it a convenient catch-word, an entering wedge to split men from their religious associations and convictions. With the official Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Party (1908) extant, it were mere impudence for its members to insist upon the identity of Christian and socialist ethics. "You lie, you villian you lie," is the plain fact of the matter when judged by Christian standards. But yet, we would give the devil his due, since this lie becomes not merely an expedient of propaganda but also a deeply "scientific" method of procedure by the accredited reasoning of delegate Untermann, lesser socialists than national leaders may be excused, we suppose, if their moral code becomes an immoral code. Especially, as the *Ten Commandments* have so long been out of date in socialist circles that mental confusion has become chronic in plain matters of right and wrong.

Since '48 is a long time to ingrain a Godless view of life. With the "Communist Manifesto," the "most remarkable pamphlet ever written," and "Capital" as the "Bible of the

working Class," there was indeed "the beginning of an epoch" with reason fled to brutish feasts.

"Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriages, against the State? Has it not preached in the place of these charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christian socialism is but the Holy Water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrats." ("Communist Manifesto.")

Writing under the caption *Marxism and Ethics* for *Wilshire's Magazine* (Nov. 1905) Robert Rives La Monte sets plainly forth the creed of socialism. From the dogma that the dominant class ever creates the kind of god serviceable in holding the subject class in hand, Mr. La Monte passes logically on to the notion that the capitalist class of to-day, to the extent of its power, holds over the "wage-slaves" the so-called morals—The Ten Commandments—for reasons of economic gain. We quote:

"... morality is, in its very essence, a class institution—a set of rules of conduct enforced or inculcated for the benefit of a class. Hence to speak of the morality of the future when one refers to the classless society to which socialists look forward, is the height or the depth of absurdity. Under socialism there will be no morality."

Two years later in "Socialism: Positive and Negative," (page 57) Mr. Robert Rives La Monte puts his creed in verse:

"What are 'wrong', 'right', 'vice', 'virtue', 'bad' and 'good'?
Mere whips to scourge the backs that naked fear
The burden of the world—bent backs that dare
Not rise erect, defy the tyrant, 'Should',
And freely, boldly do the things they would.
In living's joy they rarely have a share;
They look beyond the grave, and hope that there
They'll be repaid, poor fools, for being good.

"To serve thy master, that is virtue, Slave;
To do thy will, enjoy sweet life, is vice.
Poor duty ridden serf, rebel, forget
Thy master-taught morality; be brave
Enough to make this earth a Paradise
Wheron the Sun of Joy shall never set!"

It were fitting that the philosopher *per se* of the movement should have the last word to say in proof that from the ethics of socialism no Christian can find endorsement. At the international congress at The Hague, in 1872, at which Joseph Deitzgen was a delegate, Karl Marx introducing him to the assembled delegates used these words: "Here is our philosopher." What the philosopher of the socialist movement has to say the world may learn from *The Religion of Social Democracy*, the first of "six sermons" by Joseph Deitzgen:

"Christianity was recently qualified as the religion of servility. This seems to me a very apt qualification.

"Indeed, all religion is servile, but Christianity is the most servile of the servile. Let us take the next best Christian saying we meet with on the road. On my way there stands a cross with inscription: 'Mercy, gracious Jesus! Holy Maria, pray for us!' Here we have the inordinate humility of Christianity in all its wretchedness. For those who build all their hope on mercy are wretched creatures, indeed. Those who start out in life with the belief in an Almighty God, and prostrate themselves before the destinies and forces of nature, and in their piteous feeling of impotency moan for mercy, are anything but efficient members of modern society. When we see that modern Christians act differently, that they brave the storm and courageously face danger, that they actively strive to remove calamity, it is only because of their defection from Christianity. Though they continue to keep their name, their song-book and their anxieties, they are in their doings and dealings perfect anti-Christians. We non-religious social-democrats must be fully conscious of this position. We want to be consciously and deliberately, in theory and practice, the energetic opponents of that sheepish and godly humility." ("Philosophical Essays," Chicago Kerr Co., 1906)

Is not this unspeakably perverse! First to mistake Christian recognition of our utter dependence upon God's mercy and our appeal to the Blessed Mother for aid in the battle of life for slavish servility and then to claim as "anti-Christ" all those who for the love of Christ are doing brave deeds for the good of their fellowmen? Yet in the art of outrage Marx is quite the master of his philosophic master, Deitzgen, for when one is off one's guard Marx can fling a mortal insult to strike both God and man. From page 13 of "Capital" when treating soberly of economics we quote this example of intellectual degeneracy:

"The fact that it is value is made manifest by its equality with the coat, just as the sheep's nature of a Christian is shown in his resemblance to the Lamb of God."

We submit, that it were idle to deny that for want of logical thinking socialist ranks are recruited and Christian ranks are depleted. Well instructed, the human mind rests securely upon a basis of right-reason, and right reason necessarily finds its first cause in God and its final cause in God.

Socialism International.

"Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong,
Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
Then everything includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite;
And appetite an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and power,
Must make perforce, an universal prey,
And last eat up himself. Great Agememnon.
This chaos when degree is suffocate follows the choking."

(Troilus and Cressida, Act 1, Scene 3.)

AS to whether socialism should be stayed, beaten flat to the earth and scattered to the four winds of the heavens as subversive of right-reason, civil order and religious liberty, or whether this force gathering under the red flag should be accepted as leading the American nation inevitably on to a higher civilization, there are opposite convictions,—but there is no mistaking the proofs that socialism is international in its principles and in its organization.

It were, indeed, imperative to a right understanding of its propaganda to realize that each of its many national divisions pays allegiance to the self-same system of thought. That each several local, great and small, throughout our country, and a multitude of auxiliary organizations, all march together determined upon the conquest of "the *present order*." Also that the phrase *present system*—*present order*—*Capitalism*—wage slavery—etc., etc., stands in place of extant civilization, whatever the form of government, and especially of Christian civilization.

The party platform of each several country lays down such planks as its leaders deem the best means the time affords to reach the one aim and end. Set forth as many varieties as one will . . . "nothing that does not lead toward the overthrow of capitalism can be regarded as socialism or leading toward it," said Herman Simpson, Editor of *The Call*, addressing The Socialist Club in New York City, as reported in the issue of March 21, 1911.

The economic test, directly or indirectly, must show an assault upon private property—a man's right to own and operate wealth for profit. This being so, reforms within the spheres of domestic economy, civil economy, political economy and social economy may be advocated, not because they are proper subjects of socialism, but only for the reason that such advocacy may indirectly lead to an assault upon private property.

As this is the ground of very great confusion it were worthy of the most positive attention. We have no hesitation whatsoever in affirming that the rank and file are gathered together because socialism is mistaken for this, that and whatnot reform. Yet the wolf decked out in sheep's clothing has the deadly snap of the wolf just the same.

Again, socialism is not international for the one reason of its materialistic creed; it has, too, made experience which sustains its theoretical belief. The defeat of the Communards in their attempt to establish socialism in France, furnished the experience which convinced socialists of the necessity of international organization. It is a matter of common conviction, with them, that the capitalist governments of Europe and America would not permit the setting up of a socialist society by the working class of any nation so long as the united military power of the remaining capitalist nations retain the power to overthrow it. Hence the necessity of establishing a co-operative commonwealth which shall include the civilized world. Hence, also, the shibboleth "Workmen of all countries unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a whole world to gain."

As only the comparatively few are versed in their creed, this international comradeship is largely builded upon sentiments of pity for the downtrodden. Such sentiments are freely indulged by leaders who are keenly aware, for instance, that Pope Leo XIII was no socialist, though they find it a serviceable myth with which to make propaganda amongst ambitious Catholic workmen of a too worldly type. So it is that doctrinal error is winked at in men of petty leadership. This is the policy which breeds that confusion, which flatters the novice into thinking that socialism is now or shall be that thing which he wants it to be. But as we have said, no man of large faculty for leadership is permitted long to indulge this fancy. Otherwise the

"point of the revolution" were in danger, for a bold leader could carry a division of the army over to any reformer's camp.

While this intellectual confusion is, in fact, the cover under which the movement spreads its propaganda, at the same time it gives to it the appearance of embracing many kinds of doctrine, but this is officially repudiated.

"There is no such thing as European socialism or American socialism. There is only one kind of socialism the world over—*International Socialism*, which means everywhere the same, among the socialists of Haverhill as well as among the socialists of a city of a similar size in Germany, France, Belgium or England." (The Haverhill *Social Democrat*, July 20, 1910.)

Likewise is the authoritative pronouncement of the latest party platform, (Chicago, 1908) we quote:

"In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world."

The most powerful of its auxiliaries is equally outspoken as to its doctrinal unity with the Marxians. At the Christian Socialists' Conference at Asbury Park (1908) the delegates assembled acquiesced in this view:

"The Christian Fellowship believes in, and advocates, socialism without any qualifying adjective whatever. It does not offer any special form of socialism distinctively Christian. The socialism it preaches differs in no way from that of the international socialist movement."

Again:

"A splendid opportunity is offered the Church of God. The time is ripe to realize our hope—universal brotherhood. . . . A David has appeared in the form of socialism. We may yet discover that he is the Lord's anointed."

There can be no doubt, once the origin, the doctrine and the intention of socialism is known, about the fact that those socialists who sincerely believe in Christ and Him crucified have in this babel of tongues mistaken the voice of the anti-Christ for that of the Good Shepherd. The *régime* proposed is entirely

consistent with the doctrine laid down, while both rest logically upon a basis of un-reason, for *materialist monism* leaves no room whatever for the belief in Almighty God. However many breaks with logical thought the "Christian socialists" are guilty of, socialist leaders are under no delusion as to the nature of their movement; that its unity is grounded in materialism they know. What they have not the good will to perceive is that materialism is a denial of right-reason. To quote:

"There may be fifty-seven varieties or twice as many, of persons who call themselves socialists or are called so by others. But there is only one socialism that counts in the real world. . . . This socialism that counts, we call it international socialism . . . we call it revolutionary socialism, we call it proletarian socialism . . . we call it scientific socialism." (*The Worker*, April 28, 1906.)

Mr. Morris Hillquit, perhaps the master politician of them all has this to say:

"Altogether it is high time that the American public abandon the myth of the 'diverse meanings of socialism,' and the 'diverse kinds of socialism.' There is not and probably never was a theory and movement of more striking uniformity than the theory and movement of socialism. The International Socialist movement, with its thirty million adherents, and its organized parties in about twenty-five civilized countries in both hemispheres, is all based on the same Marxian program, and follows substantially the same methods of propaganda and action". (*The Worker*, March 23, 1907.)

Upon the adoption of the "Communist Manifesto" in '48, socialism became the official doctrine of the International Workingmen's Association. After a quarter of a century reorganization took place:

The International Socialist Congresses held since the dissolution of the International Workingmen's Association have been as follows: 1. At Paris, 1889; at Brussels, 1891; at Zurich, 1893; at London, 1896; at Paris, 1900; at Amsterdam, 1904; at Stuttgart, 1907; at Copenhagen in 1910.

"The International Congresses are considered of very great importance as bringing together socialists of all civilized countries and expressing the solidarity of the workers of the world, and in formulating their views on questions of worldwide interest."

The address of the secretary, Camille Huysmans, is Maison du Peuple, Brussels, Belgium.

We may note in passing that history records the utter failure of the attempts to establish socialism in miniature. For it must be borne in mind that what socialism is organized to abolish, on the one hand, and what it is organized to set up, on the other, extends in scope far beyond even national boundaries. Therefore, it is that local and national questions must not be mistaken for its objective point—for its ultimate end. It would abolish all existing institutions. It would set up a collective ownership of the means of production—of Capital.

Socialist Tactics.

How much wood could a wood-chuck chuck
If a wood-chuck could chuck wood?
A wood-chuck would chuck just as much wood
As a wood-chuck would chuck
If a wood-chuck could chuck wood.

SOcialist tactics have become well established. It is their policy to develop what a prominent leader has termed "socialist minds." The socialist begins upon his "subject" with "radical stuff" to "break the ice." He knows very well that the "stuff" which he puts out is not socialist argument, but it serves to wean the man from his beaten path by its attractive style, by its flashing darts, which hit almost anything that the "present-order-man" may have in mind.

The Appeal to Reason, which has been dubbed "The Appeal to Imagination," has for years been declared to be "the best socialist paper to make recruits with," simply because it did not put forth "scientific socialism." It commonly confounded socialism with Christianity; the referendum as socialism; it declared the governmental experiments of New Zealand to be socialism; the North Carolina Liquor Dispensary was socialism. In short, any popular measure that would stir up the imagination of men and attract them to the socialist movement was said to be socialism. For the purpose of developing "socialist minds" *The Appeal* was always in demand. It even went so far as to hail the election of some populist and of some radical democratic mayors, governors and congressmen as "socialist victories." Some years ago the proprietor engaged a new editorial staff of "class conscious" socialists, men who advocate "the materialist basis of history," "economic determinism," atheism, anti-patriotism, free-love *et al* in the name of "science." After all *The Appeal* is still an offender seemingly

without even a socialist conscience. In nearly every issue of the other socialist papers published in the United States one may read articles of a "reform" character, which stray far and away from the measures which socialism really stands for—that is, they are not revolutionary in sentiment nor in principle.

This is necessary tactics. Otherwise, from the fact that socialists may not deal with "reform measures," the socialist party is obliged to refrain from participation in public affairs under the present "capitalist régime." Therefore, logically, until such time as it shall have captured all the offices, from the President of the United States down to the selectmen of a country town, and at one fell swoop turned the capitalist class, foot, horse and dragoons, out of political doors, it cannot take control of the ship of state and turn it into an "administration of things." This delimma has brought down upon the most devoted socialist heads the nickname of "impossibilists." The Socialist Labor Party of the United States falls under this classification. It was at their national convention in 1900 that they threw down the "immediate demands" of their political program. The Socialist Labor Party will not tolerate "reformers" within its ranks, all must be "revolutionists." De Leon says "Scratch the back of a sentimentalist and you will find a crook." To centralize political power by the practical aid of "immediate demands" they dare not. It is truly the most "uncompromising" division of the world movement. It has the severest logician at its head. It has the courage of its irrational convictions; that is to say the basic principles of socialism logically lead to fanaticism. Its membership grows "beautifully less."

The socialist may hang on either one of the horns of his dilemma. He may preach that which he knows is not socialism to gain converts. Or he may preach that which he knows to be in strict conformity to socialist principles and lose converts. The logical outcome in either case is that the party goes out of existence with its mission unfulfilled. On the one hand, it is whittled to a point and the point cut off, while on the other its bubble is blown so large that it bursts into nothingness.

Hence socialist tactics would make the establishment of their scheme impossible if their principles did not render it so:

Gonzalo.

I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
 Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
 Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
 Letters should not be known: riches, poverty,
 And use of service, none; contract, succession,
 Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none:
 No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil:
 No occupation; all men idle, all;
 And women too; but innocent and pure:
 No sovereignty:—

Sebastian. Yet he would be king on't.

Antonio. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.

Gonzalo.

All things in common nature should produce
 Without sweat or endeavor; treason, felony,
 Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
 Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,
 Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
 To feed my innocent people.

Sebastian. No marrying 'mong his subjects?

Antonio. None, man; all idle; whores and knaves.

Gonzalo. I would with such perfection govern, sir, to excel the golden age.

Sebastian. Save his majesty!

Antonio. Long live Gonzalo!"

("The Tempest," Act 2.)

Just now in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where the party leaders have proved their political ability to get control of the City government, their tactics in getting the vote and their tactics in manning the working departments of the government, together with their tactics in making city contracts are already bringing the socialist administration to grief. At the election on April 4, 1911, the socialist candidates suffered a total defeat.

The tactics employed towards party members do not indeed prove the impossibility of their scheme, but they do show that

quality of degeneracy into which men fall who defy and deny moral responsibility. One may, for example, see an editorial declaring that its columns are open to free discussion on party affairs, by the party membership, while its editor is at the same time returning articles, of an impersonal character, opening up to view some one of its principles, or some one custom of its propaganda. "Free speech" and "freedom of the press" is accorded only to those who are on the "inside." Persons of some power who hold philosophies contrary to the accredited school; those who will not be partners to the advancement of party leaders, who hold and practice pernicious socialist philosophy—to such the "freedom of the press" is cut off, and, at best, their reputations are damned with faint praise.

This Turk will bear no one near his throne. So soon as one with marked ability steps out of the beaten socialist path the "freedom of the press" and official power is used to attack one's character; it brands one as a traitor, coward and liar. Never, save in the notable case of Bernstein in Germany, has the subject-matter of a serious objector been debated. But we must not give over credit—Bernstein's matter was confined strictly to the technical economic field.

A notorious case of tactics has just drawn to an end, with the conclusion that those who stand for fair play and a decent *régime* are found to be the guilty parties. Some little time ago (May 1910) free-love charges were preferred against the officials at the National headquarters in Chicago, by "Mother Jones" and others.

In Dec. 1910 Messrs. Carey of Massachusetts and Hillquit of New York reported the charges "too frivolous" to be acted upon.

The Christian Socialist (Jan. 26, 1911) gives four of its eight pages to a rehearsal of the case. We quote:

"We have seen those charges and are sure that they were suppressed BECAUSE THEY ARE SO VERY SERIOUS, not because they are frivolous.

"They may be too serious to print on account of the women involved and the unspeakable condition of affairs in the national office which they declare. . . . But they were of such a nature as to require immediate action on the part of the N. E. C. Yet they were absolutely ignored and treated with contempt for seven long months."

The Editor with blood in his eye goes on to say:

"Charges like these against officials supported by the socialist party cannot be suppressed nor ignored."

As *The Christian Socialist* was under "deep conviction" in the Methodist sense, and because it could speak in the open through its own columns; and, too, because *The Provoker*, Chicago, a little sheet devoted to showing *Who's Who and What's What in the Socialist Party*, was "unmercifully roasting the officials who were white-washing the headquarters," "a new deal" was handed out to the party membership. "Mother Jones'" letter to Geo. H. Goebel, member of the National Executive Committee, was, too, a force to be reckoned with. We quote from *The Provoker* (March 23, 1911):

"'Mother Jones' was never afraid to meet any committee, and when you intimated such a thing you lied deliberately. . . . As for Morgan, he is onto your game, and he will clean up the whole bunch of you. That is what you are afraid of. You know the rottenness of the movement cannot stand the light of day. You are a party to the secrecy, and you are as guilty as the rest.'"

At length there was elected *A Trial Committee*, not merely for investigating the free-love charges against the National Office, indeed no, the important issue seemed to be the investigation of "Comrades" Carr, and Morgan the editor of *The Provoker*, for demanding that the case should be tried, and fairly tried.

It shall be seen that these "comrades" counted without their host, for neither their protests nor their appeals to the membership at large availed. Evidently these editors have yet to learn what we learned so reluctantly some years since, that socialist tactics, like the spots of the leopard, are ingrain in its free-love hide. Editor Carr says:

"We are not the accusers. But we did criticise the N. E. C., and protest against its methods and we do so still, with even greater cause than before. . . . THE SUCCESS of the Socialist Party depends as much upon its HONESTY, FAIRNESS and CLEANNESS as upon its PROGRAM. DO NOT ALLOW THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST TO BE SANDBAGGED IN THE DARK AND DESTROYED BY SELF-CONSTITUTED SUPPRESSORS OF FREE SPEECH AND A FREE PRESS."

After this appeal for fair play, which was vain, "That Weird May meeting" was recalled (*Christian Socialist*, Jan 26, 1911) showing that the minority have no rights which the majority are bound to respect:

"To prove how 'frivolous' these charges were considered to be, the N. E. C. EXCLUDED THE ACCUSERS and all visitors from the room and WENT INTO SECRET SESSION. Nay, innocent readers of the fairy stories contained in the National Bulletin, this secret session was not held to prevent ticklish spectators from laughing themselves to death over the FRIVOLITY of the charges, but because THEY WERE THE MOST SERIOUS CHARGES EVER PRESENTED TO ANY N. E. C. OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

"And, while the ACCUSERS were all banished from the room, the ACCUSED, including the women, WERE PERMITTED TO REMAIN. And so the 'investigation' proceeded behind closed doors and in the presence of the accused only! . . . The accusers ready and eager to testify REMAINED WITHIN EASY REACH OF THE COMMITTEE FOR A WEEK WITHOUT HAVING A CHANCE TO TESTIFY.

"And all The Official Reports of The Case Were Left In the Hands Of The Accused."

In August in New York City (the usual place of meeting being Chicago) the charges were investigated:

"BY hearing A Statement From The Accused In The Absence Of All The Accusing Witnesses, and Barnes was again cleared and the case was officially declared a 'closed incident.'"

Still THE PROVOKER persisted in airing the demerits of this case, three times dismissed by the party officials as "a closed incident." At length as both patience and prudence had ceased to be a virtue with the *Christian Socialist* it opened its editorials with a broadside on Oct. 1st and 15th, 1910.

"NOW WE ARE COMPELLED TO EXPOSE THE MISCONDUCT OF THE CASE, NOT ONLY FOR THE HONOR OF THE MOVEMENT BUT ALSO FOR THE VERY LIFE OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. The unjust and outrageous attacks on this paper, PRINTED IN THE OFFICIAL BULLETIN AND SENT TO EVERY BRANCH IN AMERICA, which utterly misrepresents the case, AND THE REFUSAL OF THE NATIONAL OFFICERS TO SEND OUR EDITORIALS WHICH THEY ATTACK ALONG WITH THEIR LETTERS TO DISPROVE THEIR CHARGES, compel us to print further explanations of the maladministration of our officials. IF THEY HAVE

MADE THE BARNES' CASE THEIR OWN they must stand the consequences.

"And we venture to warn all those concerned that we have not fired our heaviest guns yet. . . . IF FREE-LOVERS ARE TO RECEIVE OFFICIAL PROTECTION, NO POWER ON EARTH CAN PREVENT OUR PROTEST REACHING FROM SEA TO SEA."

This was truly brave talk; but it was impotent, for the Rev. Edward E. Carr is on the wrong side of this world wide battle. Having cast its lines over to the control of the International Socialist movement by officially endorsing the Socialist Party in this country *The Christian Socialist* must perforce aid in the destruction of Christian Civilization, or putting itself under still "deeper conviction" flee the wickedness of the modern Sodom and Gomorah. No, although he were the bravest of brave men, his strength were idle against the force of the movement. The national tacticians have again, now for the fourth time, closed the incident with "honor" to the National office, and severe condemnation for the accusers and for those who bespoke fair-play. *The Provoker* is found to be a "publication largely for the dissemination of malice, slander, falsification and misinformation. . . . The editor, Thomas J. Morgan, is engaged either in willful distortion of facts, or is temperamentally unable to appreciate them." While *The Christian Socialist* was condemned for its "scandalous" work: "showing a combination of willful lying and deliberate distortion of facts in Carr's editorials."

On the other hand, The Socialist Party Official Bulletin (Feb. 1911) finds the National Headquarters to be *white*.

"We have taken especial pains to sift this matter thoroughly on account of the seriousness of the charge, and find that there is absolutely no basis for such a dastardly attack on the good names and characters of the comrades mentioned."

Thus Socialist Tactics delivers the innocent over to punishment.

It was the lack of "freedom of the press" which in part caused the break in the Socialist Labor Party of 1899. Incrimination and recrimination brought forth the present Socialist Party from the loins of the "split," also the Social Democratic Party of several of the States. *The People*, daily and

weekly, is still the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party; while from the loins of *The Worker*, a weekly, there issued *The Call*, a daily, now (1911) the leading paper of the Socialist Party. These sheets give constant proof of the tactics of the world-wide movement. That is to say, they condemn the "*present order*" by the standards, and in the language of Christianity; but by the standards of their own "science" they approve what they condemn. From these contradictions there flows an intolerance that out-Herods Herod.

An underhanded article, which freely displays the methods employed to develop "socialist minds," was published in *The Worker*, March 16, 1902, which was signed by the New York State Committee of the Social Democratic Party. We quote:

"Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop Quigley alike charge socialism with hostility to religion . . . these charges are unqualifiedly false, and we challenge their authors to quote one phrase from our party platform that would in any way tend to support their accusations. They cannot do it, for socialism has no concern with religion."

That the platform then and the platform of 1908 contains nothing much directly, openly, as to religion is true, but that the platform is merely the working political program is also true, whereas socialism is announced by all its doctrinaires as a "philosophy of life." Moreover as every platform in one way or another declares its allegiance to "International Socialism," clearly from *prima facie* evidence one must learn the principles of International Socialism if one would know the essential meaning of the platform.

Would the New York State Committee refer one to its platform to learn the socialist attitude on money? No, most decidedly no! The platforms of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Social Democratic Party are all dumb on the question of money.

If one desires to learn the socialist attitude on money he must study the question as related to socialist literature, as related to socialist principles, the only authority in the matter. Now, it does not follow because the socialist platforms of our country do not contain one word on the subject of money that they have not a generally recognized attitude in regard to it.

Although Marx, in "Capital" ably analyzes some of the functions of money, that is not the whole story, for money is a creature of commerce, just as political action is a creature of the organized movement. Now commerce without foundation save for private property, and but for private property money were a non-existent thing.

No! not one word upon money in the socialist platform, but for all that socialism does concern itself with the question of value. "The abolition of the wages-system"—"The working-class are being robbed of their values"—"The full value of his product is demanded by the socialist," and dozens of like phrases assure one most positively that money is of much concern to socialism, since its chief attack is upon private capital. Just so it is its attack upon religion that is its chief philosophic concern, for its founders and its present promoters, who assuredly are not Christians, insist that socialism is a *philosophy of life*. But, of course, if the Socialist Party Platform were openly, in simple language, to proclaim its attack upon Christianity—Catholic and Protestant—its half a million votes would dwindle down to a small figure.

Tactically anything is wrong that interferes with socialist propaganda, just as anything which interfered with Abe Ruef's vicious schemes to mulct the city of The Golden Gate was wrong. And such criterion is strictly in conformity with the bad reasoning that a preponderance of material force is the basic determinant in human action.

Colonel Roosevelt's speech at the unveiling of the Underhill Monument, two or three years ago, was the occasion of a brilliant display of "double crossing," so dear to these comrades who misplace the order of right-reason—socialism is first, all things else after, with God and the Ten Commandments nowhere.

Our ex-President had struck socialism a national blow. He had interfered with the progress of its propaganda by showing just what "certain" socialists hold out as the economic ideal. And its tacticians were quite equal to the occasion of vaulting into print, first, to prove by their platform what was not to be found therein; and, second, to prove by the book the very contrary of what is set down by its authors.

With iteration and reiteration Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes made out her case as to "our President's uninformed state." Indeed it was ignorance "utter" and black regarding socialism. This "ignorance" sunk to its lowest depth when our then President said there can be found "no grosser example of privilege than that set before us as an ideal by certain socialistic writers." (*The Sun's* report, July 12, 1908). What then is that "ideal?" We are not left in doubt. "The ideal that every man shall put into the common fund what he can—and should take out whatever he wanted."

Do "certain" socialists hold out this ideal? If they do not Mrs. Pastor-Stokes' insistence that "If Mr. Roosevelt wishes to oppose socialism he must learn what socialism is" may not be over intense. Mrs. Stokes has kindly set down a list of three authors, if he will but read them the burden shall be lifted from off the should-be weary back; for Mr. Roosevelt is the "most ignorant man in the country" on the most "vital subject" before the world.

Mr. Kirkup's, "An Inquiry Into Socialism," Page 116, shall be first consulted:

"Adherents of socialism who insist upon a theoretical just method totally misunderstand the condition of the problem. Should remuneration be equal? Should it be according to the reasonable needs of each? Should the principle of remuneration be one that takes both merit and reasonable needs into account? Should the workingman receive the full product of his labor? The last is plausible in appearance, but when examined is found to be void of meaning."

"Void of meaning!" Plainly such weight as Mr. Kirkup has in the socialist world, or elsewhere for that matter, is against Mrs. Stokes' declamation upon the crass state of Mr. Roosevelt's mind.

Mr. John Spargo was proposed, in Mrs. Stokes' letter to *The Sun*, as the next best man to ease off the burden of "ignorance" from the back of the sometime "strenuous Teddy." What has Mr. Spargo to say about "dividing up" after all the capital of this world, Timbuctoo included, shall have been confiscated,

perhaps, and set in operation for use and not for profit? We quote:

"It may be freely admitted, however, that the ideal to be aimed at ultimately must be approximate equality of income." ("Socialism," page 233.)

What a perverse trick for "the preponderance of economic force" to play upon Mrs. Stokes! That she should select two authorities who give plain testimony against her asseveration of Mr. Roosevelt's "utter ignorance" as to socialist ideals, while the third writer, Mr. Work, to whom appeal is made, sets up the principle that the largest pay should be given for the dirtiest tasks. (*What's So and What Isn't*, p. 55).

The soloist was not without her chorus, Messrs. Phelps Stokes, Robert Hunter, W. W. Passage and a host of others, even the party papers, and we hesitate to obscure the lady leader by the presence of the great Gene himself, all joined their woman comrade in proudly pointing to the perfection of their platform as proof that the socialist ideal is not "equal pay for unequal work."

Strange to relate, and yet not strange for these sick-sweet folks who are skilled in deriving "spiritual beauty" from cod in Boston, corn in the west and cotton or whatnot in the south. They point to proof in a document which if one shall search never so carefully one shall find never one word as to the principle of economic remuneration. Yet, notwithstanding the fact that tons of the Socialist Party Platform at that very time were in circulation, what was not in it was trumpeted forth as the cure for the crassest of "uninformed states" of mind regarding the most "vital subject" before all this world.

There were truly interesting speculations regarding this episode. Did it ever occur to their "comrades" that these national leaders were playing a desperate game with historic truth, in which all the facts in the case were against them? Probably not. Or to be as charitable as we may, were these leaders themselves under the hallucination that what it were for the nonce expedient to hold in their heads was down in cold type in their platform and in the books cited? Probably. Yet however true or false their conscious motives the action was tactically to the advantage of the movement.

The psychological effect which was intended was secured. Socialists had spoken dramatically in the public press, their name and fame had been shed abroad, and socialist propaganda was advanced, not retarded thereby; for the careless element in the community does not think, it feels. And it acts as it feels instead of acting as it thinks it ought to act. Evidently the cure for carelessness—thoughtlessness—is the lesson of moral responsibility which Christianity teaches, but which socialism scouts.

Economic confusion is truly bad enough, but more dangerous to our national life is the attack upon the basis of the family. That the family is a moral body is a well established Christian truth. Not so with the socialist creed; the family has no other foundation than private property. Yet socialists prate about the sex immorality of to-day, for effect, it is "good" propaganda; and loudly inveigh against the breaking up of the workingman's home by the capitalist class, as though sex purity were conditioned upon plenty of bread and butter. Their tactics of meeting inquiry by turning the point of the questioner, and of meeting argument by shifting the ground of discussion came into vogue with the "Communist Manifesto," and that document, "beyond all price valuable to sociological science," is still followed faithfully by the international movement. This is the voice of the Socialist Labor Party:—

"The principles enunciated in the 'Manifesto' are as true to-day as they were fifty years ago, and it is upon these principles that the Class Conscious Proletariat of the United States is hammering its way to the Socialist Republic."

Now, we quote from the "Manifesto" itself to show its tactics in approaching the question of the family, and, also, that we may set down its own words regarding the origin of the family.

"Abolition of the family? Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

"On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

"The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital."

"In the practical absence of the family" among the working-class! Here is false history, created in the support of false philosophy, which philosophy rests upon a false basis of reasoning. All of which is prefaced by the counterfeit of moral indignation. Perhaps the inquiry were pertinent: Where in the whole range of intellectual effort are perverse intentions and perverse reasoning so entangled together into perverse psychological effect?

In making converts the point at issue is shunted off, to illustrate:

Civilian: Is the "completely developed form" of the rich man's family unlike the working class family?

Socialist: No! certainly not, for the capitalist mode of production fashions all institutions by its own inexorable force.

Civilian: Then the family is doomed?

Socialist: Yes, upon the overthrow of private property in capital the family will vanish.

Civilian: Will socialism abolish the family?

Socialist: Oh, no! It won't be necessary, it will of itself give place to free unions.

Civilian: You say that all institutions religious, civil and economic are developed in conformity with the prevailing mode of industry?

Socialist: Yes, under the law of economic determinism.

Civilian: Then marriage is not a sacred institution?

Socialist: No, certainly not. It was introduced by the exploiting class for the protection of private property.

Civilian: What, then, constitutes a socialist marriage?

Socialist: Why, love, of course. Love is the only basis upon which may be built a permanent and enduring marriage.

Civilian: Permanent! If the natural affection, to put it straight, if sex fondness ceases the marriage ceases, its basis being gone?

Socialist: Precisely.

Civilian: And the parties are then free to find other mates at their own pleasure and convenience?

Socialist: Oh yes! of course!—Socialism desires freedom from exploitation in all things. A free family, a free society may be found only on the other side of the revolution, together with economic freedom.

Civilian: But is not this free-love? Let me read this from the *Social Democratic Herald* (June 20, 1903):

"Were the Social Democrats of Germany ever in favor of community of wives as Father Sherman and the National Economic League pamphlets claim?" asks an Illinois correspondent.

"Simply, and plainly and emphatically, *no!* The very idea is absurd. Marx, in his 'Communist Manifesto,' written in 1848, touches on this calumny, and even takes the pains to explain how it naturally occurred to the bourgeois mind. Under capitalism everything is property, and wives are looked on by some as a species of possession. So when the capitalist mind conceived the error that socialists wanted to socialize ALL property, the idea readily sprang up that women, being also a sort of property, would have to be socialized! In other words, the believer in capitalism, with his usual stupidity, did not see that socialism seeks to make common property ONLY of that part of wealth that is used to create more wealth, and so supposed that such property as womankind was in danger. And to quote Marx again, the socialists would have no reason to 'introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial!' See the point?"

Socialist: The point is . . . eh, the point is the stupidity of the capitalist mind. . . . For you see there would be no marriage in the present sense, in the bourgeois sense. It would be swept away along with all other capitalist institutions.

Civilian: Yes, but the point which I see lies back upon the ground of marriage—back to the origin of the family. The origin of the family cannot be mere sex fondness which you affirm as its basis; nor can the family have been created as the mere prop to private property, for it is self-evident that the family is the necessary unit in sustaining the human race. As the monogamic family is the lowest terms to which the race can be reduced, we must conclude that it is the one pure form of the many possible sex relationships. Therefore the very fact that sex immorality of all sorts has been extant through all the ages, but brings out the pure form of the family more distinctly, as an ideal, as a scientific design and as a practical historical fact.

Socialist: Er, er—but, you know one's body is his own, he may do with it as he pleases.

Civilian: Personal happiness is the right standard for human conduct, is that the socialist morality?

Socialist: Yes, you are right, there is no fixed basis for the so-called moral law.

Civilian: I see, then, that the issue between socialism and the upholders, of what you term the *present order* on the question of the family is just this, to put the matter with brutal frankness, that the race may breed like rabbits if it so pleases, or it must maintain marriage as a sacrament to please God.

Socialist: As there is no God to please, one is foolish not to please himself.

Civilian: So, your philosophy—the materialist conception of history—rules out of question Almighty God and His will as our law?

Socialist: Certainly! That belief is but the ignorant superstition of the dark ages brought over into modern times. When the future society shall have perfected itself, the *collective will* shall inform the individual what the moral law is. Until then we socialists will do the best we can to propagate the socialist doctrine. Once we get hold of the political power we will abolish both ecclesiastical and civil marriage. Then we could conform to the truth and beauty of socialist ethics such as no man can command in his ordinary life. Do you see the point?

Civilian: Indeed I do; I see the deformity and the blasphemy of it clearly, as the work of the devil.

From the socialist camp there issues forth the few with fully developed "socialist minds;" with the brassiest of brazen impudence these comrades fit their words to the audiences addressed. Before the populace the attacks upon the sacred character of marriage are subtle, but none the less deadly. We cite from *Boyce's Weekly* (May 6, 1903) this example given by A. M. Simons. After going on with a graphically correct picture to show the stress under which thousands of our poor live, the sympathy thus developed is used as the emotional sea upon which to set afloat his damnable suggestions, namely, that homes are disrupted, primarily by economic causes, when the truth is that moral disorder is the deadly foe of the home. We quote:

"These are the 'homes' that it is alleged socialism would destroy. I fear that we must plead guilty to much of the indictment, for to declare for the preservation of such conditions would be to make the idea of social-

ism a hideous nightmare to all thinking men and women. Socialism will undoubtedly return the father and mother to the family circle, permit the selection and maintenance of a permanent place of residence, shut the woman and child from the factory, and the factory from the home. It will do away with the army of the underpaid, abolish at once the prostitute, the tramp and the parasite, and secure the entire product to those who produce it, and thus make possible all that humanity has learned to love in the word HOME."

No, Mr. Simons, these are not the homes that "it is alleged socialism would destroy." You have but pictured the poverty which woefully abides in American homes, while you have not pictured the plenty, the luxury, which abides in a large number of American homes. Now, it is not feared that you will destroy the poverty, the plenty nor the luxury even, of American homes. The "fear" relates not to the material substance, scant or bountiful, necessary to maintain a home. But, Sir, the "fear" is, and justly too, that socialism would break the natural tie, the human tie, the sacred tie, the tie which binds the father, the mother, the child, in one family while life lasts. The "fear" is natural, it is wholesome because socialist principles strike at the very root of the home—at the marriage system. And no amount of sophistical writing shall be allowed to pass current as argument in the protection of socialists against the consequences of their philosophy which, if practiced, would destroy the home, for it would break the marriage bond. Lashing the "capitalist system" is not sufficient to betray your fell purpose. Kindly play the part of a brave man and out with your convictions as to the origin, the development, and the future state of the family. Then one will be enabled to see that the future home shall be, though never so richly furnished, a shed to shelter such human animals as "choose" because of "sex fondness" to herd for the night together.

Mr. Robert Hunter sets another sample of "double crossing"—a manner peculiar to the blind in leading the blind.

Will Socialism Destroy the Home?

(*Social Democratic Herald*, Nov. 19, 1910.)

"It is sometimes said that socialism will destroy the home, and when I hear it said I wonder what kind of homes?

Will it destroy the homes of the merry widows of Reno, Nevada?

Will it destroy the homes of the young American girls who have married dissolute foreign noblemen?

Will it destroy the hovels and insanitary, overcrowded tenements in which the poor are to-day herded like cattle?

Will it destroy the homes of the mothers who rise at dawn to leave for the factory?

Will it destroy the homes of sick fathers and anxious wives and hurry, fretting babies?

Will it destroy the homes of that multitude of women who have married, not for love but for support?"

After some false history is cited to discredit the Church, Mr. Hunter sets down an assertion which he miscalls a fact and proceeds, illogically, with some pitiful conditions which justly enlist the sympathy of every right-minded person, only to go abroad again for the "data" by which to renew his attack upon Christianity.

Not the greed and the lust of mankind—of the rich and the poor—is to blame for the ills of life: "But Capitalism," that impersonal economic machine which men, sane men, know as commerce, that it is which has both the making and the care of what we call the morals of the race.

However, Mr. Hunter has a cure, he holds out filth to cure filth:

"Prostitution can never be done away with so long as capitalism lasts. The non-socialist will not understand that assertion and I shall not now try to prove it.

"But if by chance, reader, you should sometimes be of heavy heart because so many thousands of wretched women are doomed to this life, and would like to know if there is any solution to this problem, then I ask you to read BEBEL'S 'WOMAN.'" (*The Chicago Daily Socialist*, Sept. 10, 1909.)

So, free-love shall be the cure for prostitution! Certainly, there is a difference. Engels, in "The Origin of the Family," makes out prostitution to be more desirable than marriage, which, of course, is thus utterly discredited, for there should be no *sale* of sexual intercourse. While Kautsky defends the "freedom of the sexes" on moral ground. Yet tactically either free-love or marriage is socialism, whichever will advance its propaganda for the nonce.

There has been no change, neither in its principles nor in its tactics since 1848 when the *form* of socialist reasoning was locked, and the model for its tactics was displayed. The "Communist Manifesto" was then and it is now the inspiration of the authoritative writers and managers within the socialist world. Speaking at the Commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, the editor of the leading socialist daily of this country, Mr. Algernon Lee, voiced the general sentiment on *Marx, The Revolutionist*.

"Karl Marx was the scientific analyst of the revolution: he studied the laws of its development as he worked in it. The 'Communist Manifesto,' the work of Marx and Engels, is as much the manifesto of the socialist party of the world in 1909 as it was of the Communist party in 1848."

Precisely! All the socialists of all this world use the same negative and sophistical style of reasoning. By which means the thought and the hope of undisciplined minds and hearts are turned from the real issues before the American people into irrational action. By loud mouthed denunciation of the present social order, or by the glamour of brilliantly colored pictures of the material prosperity of the inevitable socialist *régime*, using their unwarrantable tactics the while, many are roped within the socialist camp, working for that which they would not have. Perseus wore a magic cap that the monsters he hunted down might not see him, while socialism dons the magic cap over its hydra head that the monster it is may not be seen by those whom it would devour.

Public Ownership.

Art thou my friend—forbear to do me guile,
Nor clothe a secret grudge in friendship's smile:
For traitorous friendship wounds th' unguarded breast
With surer aim than enmity profess'd;
And more on shoals the sailor fears to wreck,
Than where the rocks hang frowning o'er his deck.

Lucilius.

SOcialism, by those whose enthusiasm for its propaganda is higher than their knowledge of its history, is often defined as the *public ownership of public utilities*. At once official socialism will have none of this; yet, it will, for purposes of spreading its influence and for securing votes for its political program. Within the organized movement the conflict between its final object—the revolution—and the means of reaching it, is ever active. The final object narrowed to its economic pivot is told officially. We quote from the "Principles" of the *Socialist Party Platform* adopted by National Convention, May, 1908.

"The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation, is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wageworkers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation."

From this, one thing is at least clear, that it is the *collective* ownership of private capital which is the central demand. Expanded the pivotal demand may be cast into the words of Karl Kautsky, taken from "The Social Revolution," (pp. 8-9, Chicago, 1903.) This book is said to be "one of the most important contributions made to socialist literature during the last decade." (Translator's Preface).

"Measures which seek to adjust the juridical and political superstructure of society, to change economic conditions, are reforms if they proceed from the class which is the political and economic ruler of society. They are reforms whether they are given freely or secured by the pressure

of the subject class, or conquered through the power of circumstances. . . . On the contrary, any one is a revolutionist who seeks to conquer the political power for an hitherto oppressed class, and he does not lose this character if he prepares and hastens this conquest by social reforms wrested from the ruling classes. It is not the striving after social reforms but the explicit confining of one's self to them which distinguishes the social reformer from the social revolutionist."

In one brief word it is the socialist position that the social reformer makes no assault upon the right of the private person to lucrative property—to the private ownership and operation of capital for profit. While the essential character of the revolutionist—the socialist—is his demand for the abolition of private property in productive capital.

Here is the issue joined! and we accept the gage of battle—Reform or Revolution. Here on economic ground, as far fetched as it may seem to the superficial student, socialism takes its departure from the sound and sober sense of things in general. For just at this initial decision one must choose between the sane reasoning that the Living God is of organized society, the Author and the materialist conception of history which traces the origin of human society no further back than matter and force. If civilization be the mere resultant of successive class struggles by which the dominant class foists its means of advantage, upon the conquered class, as the moral code, then God did not from Mt. Sinai thunder forth the Ten Commandments, to be forever the right and wrong of human thought and action.

Consequently the opening sentence of the declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party Platform has more, or rather less, in it than appeared to the men and women assembled at Chicago, May 1908, to the party membership at large by whom it was endorsed by referendum vote, Aug. 1908. We quote:

"Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter."

But is not this sound? No, and yes. As a secondary principle it is perfectly true. Here, however, it is confidently set down as the basic foundation of a new order of society—as a *first principle*. Hence food, clothing and shelter is given as the cause of civilization; as the ultimate end of civilization, and, too, as motive of the working program of the international revolution.

Yet as neither reason nor experience will permit the place of First Principles to be vacant, nor will commonsense permit secondary causes to usurp the place of first causes the revolutionists are left in a sorry plight when brought up to the bar of philosophy, history or present day practice, while the genuine reformers have the entire field to themselves. For however much force socialism can gather, and there is no denying its spread, it has no ground upon which to build, no first principles upon which to stand. It can, indeed, as the wind let loose, destroy. Verily, the fool in his heart hath said there is no God, and he fears no contradiction. While the true reformers set down in letters of fire the *first principle* to lead all else: Human life is absolutely dependent upon God its Giver.

Having probed home to the vital issues which separate the reformer from the revolutionist let us take further testimony to show that notwithstanding the general confusion of the public mind upon this matter, socialists themselves stand for the public ownership of social utilities only as a means of propaganda, and that mere vote-getting is, of course, one of these means:

"There is a very general idea that socialism means an extension of the powers and functions of government," says *The People*—"This is a very natural misconception, but it is a dangerous misconception, and ought to be guarded against. Socialism does not mean the extension of government; on the contrary it means the end, the elimination of government. Government, the authority of a part of the people over the lives of the other, for in theory, all the people collectively over the lives of all the people individually, is simply a result of the division of society into classes with conflicting interests. With the end of class divisions, the necessity of government disappears. The 'tyranny of socialism' is a bugbear, with no reality behind it. Socialism means individual freedom.

"This is a point which ought to be made as clear as possible on every possible occasion." (*The People*, New York, Sunday, May 13, 1900.)

The National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, (New York City, June 2-8, 1900) still further emphasizes this position. Delegate Sanial, Chairman of the platform committee, reported in part as follows:

"Without wasting time upon considerations that are familiar to every well-trained socialist . . . I shall simply state that the committee recommends that the platform . . . that is, the Declaration of Principles,

adopted in 1889 and somewhat amended in 1896 be readopted word for word, and the whole string of planks, that remind us of the infancy of socialists . . . be stricken out and the Declaration of Principles alone remain.

"As for the rest, as for those measures, those palliatives which it is expected that socialists will advocate, or will push to the front wherever they have representatives in office, they can be made through the Municipal Program."

Daniel De Leon expressed at this Convention (1900) the same fear of the effect of the practical program, especially of the plank relative to public ownership, that Eugene V. Debs voices to-day. After recalling the "time when we had to go around with our hats in our hands and try to sugar-coat our principles," all of which was very dangerous, De Leon adds:

"By telling people what we might do—all of which things did not in any way effect the fundamental thing that we are after, namely, the abolition of the wages system—we simply notified the freaks and capitalists through what doors they could get into our citadel and knock us out. These resolutions ought to be dropped. They are nonsense, and they are untrue. They imply a state of things that is not to be accomplished."

The planks in question were "dropped" by a vote of 72 to 2.

Although Debs is not given to pessimism he finds the larger increase in their vote, state and national, not entirely a matter for jubilation.

"I cannot but feel that some of the votes placed to our credit this year obtained by methods not consistent with the principles of a revolutionary party, and in the long run will do more harm than good.

"The danger I see ahead is that the socialist party at this stage, and under existing conditions, is apt to attract elements which it cannot assimilate, and that it may be either weighted down, or torn asunder with internal strife, or that it may become permeated and corrupted with the spirit of bourgeois reform to an extent that will practically destroy its virility and efficiency as a revolutionary organization.

"To my mind the working class character and the revolutionary integrity of the socialist party are of first importance. All the votes of the people would do us no good if our party ceased to be a revolutionary party, or only incidentally so, while yielding more and more to the pressure to modify the principles and program of the party for the sake of swelling the vote and hastening the day of its expected triumph.

"The truth is, that we have not a few members who regard vote-getting as of supreme importance, no matter by what method the votes may

be secured, and this leads them to hold out inducements and make representations which are not at all compatible with the stern and uncompromising principles of a revolutionary party. They seek to make the socialist propaganda so attractive—eliminating whatever may give offense to bourgeois sensibilities—that it serves as a bait for votes rather than as a means of education, and votes thus secured do not properly belong to us." (*International Socialist Review*, Jan., 1911.)

The position of the Socialist Labor Party on the question of municipal, state or national ownership of public utilities, —of public ownership short of the complete ideal of socialism, is from the international socialist standpoint considered the "most scientific."

The Indianapolis Convention, which nationally united the "Debs' division" with the "anti-De Leon" faction of the socialist movement into the Socialist Party (known as the Social Democratic Party in the States of New York and Wisconsin), adopted a program of municipal reforms with this caution:

"In advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Coöperative Commonwealth, we warn the working-class against the so-called public-ownership movements, as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries, and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working-class."

There was a strong minority against the adoption of the "immediate demands." But in despite of a threatening nearness to another party split, they were adopted by a vote of 5,358; while there were 1,325 votes cast for the complete abolition of these demands, which have no more claim to be termed socialism, than had the extension of suffrage to the black man below the Mason and Dixon line.

Even though it be an acknowledged means of getting votes, Ernest Untermann, editor, a foremost writer and translator of German socialist works into English, sees in public ownership no aid in furthering the social revolution. We quote from his pamphlet "Capitalism to Socialism:"

"The opportunist wish to make socialist experiments, before the people understand the essence of the political socialist movement. The

revolutionary socialists insist that the people shall know the foundation of political socialism, before they try any 'practical' experiments.

"The most striking proof of the utter failure of municipal capitalism as an educator of socialist minds is furnished by the English towns, where the majority of the working class, after a generation of municipal ownership, still continue to vote capitalist politicians into office.

"The same is true of Switzerland, where the object lesson of more than twenty years of direct legislation and national ownership of railroads has not succeeded in impressing the workers with the truth that they can only escape capitalist exploitation by organizing as a political party distinct from and opposed to the capitalist parties.

"The transformation of municipal capitalism into municipal socialism is the mission of the socialist party. This transformation is again a political problem. It requires the transformation of capitalist minds into socialist minds, and must be fought out along the line of 'Working class vs. Capitalist class,' or broadly speaking, 'Socialism vs. Capitalism.' Municipal socialism in its complete form cannot come without the conquest of the state and the nation by the socialist. A socialist municipality within a capitalist state is impossible.

"Municipal socialism requires the abolition of capitalism and of class rule. It is founded on local autonomy. And it finds its most important function in the administration of those great industries which could not be brought under collective control while the capitalists remained the ruling class.

"Finally, it must be emphasized, that neither municipal capitalism nor state capitalism are a means of educating the working class to class consciousness and arraigning them solidly against the capitalist class."

John C. Chase, socialist ex-mayor of Haverhill, Mass., in *The Coming Nation*, June 14, 1903, gives his opinion:

"Government ownership of railroads and other institutions of like nature is not a cure, nor is it even a palliative remedy. . . . There is no cure for our ills, short of the absolute abolition of capitalism."

The Chicago Daily Socialist (July 24, 1907) writing cynically under the caption *Investigating Municipal Ownership* of that undertaking by the *National Civic Federation* (which was in fact an exhaustive work, including a report of its findings at home and abroad, which is not, on the whole, favorable to the general introduction of public ownership in this country), concludes as follows:

"The remedy for these menaces is not to be found in limiting either the rights of municipal employees or of municipalization itself.

"Here as elsewhere the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy.

"The 'remedy' for the evils of municipalization is GENUINE SOCIALISM.

"When all employees are public employees, and all are interested in all industries, there will be no class outside with interests at variance with those employed by the government.

"When the government is a working-class government and not a capitalist government, then all will be equally interested in seeing that the entire product goes to the workers, and that hours are short, labor is pleasant, and that production is as economical as possible."

Truly this is a splendid specimen of that glowing imagination which burns its subject to cinders—of that specious writing which appeals to the mediocre mind which loves ease rather than effort. However, it is not here our purpose to take this point in hand. We offer it merely as cumulative testimony to the socialist position upon public ownership; to which we further add that of William English Walling:

"Of the twenty-five immediate demands in the socialist platform, only those referring to the political structure of this country are of a revolutionary character. Why is this the case? First, because all of the economic reforms, such as government ownership, progressive taxation and labor legislation, will be introduced to a very large degree by the capitalists themselves, and not out of the fear of socialism or radicalism of any kind, but because of their own economic interests.'" (*Chicago Daily Socialist*, Nov. 19, 1909.)

Going abroad for opinions relative to public ownership we shall first introduce Henry Mayers Hyndman, than whom no international authority on socialism stands higher:

"There is no possibility of reducing the existing anarchy in production and distribution to order by anything short of this collective ownership of the great means and instruments of production and distribution. This inevitably involves the overthrow of private property or company ownership of those great means and instruments of creating and distributing wealth. And this again carries with it the disappearance of the class state, and the establishment of an organized commission in which private ownership will be confined within the narrowest possible limits.

"Those who talk of 'municipal socialism' as if it were possible to segregate mankind into petty little units, with no power to regulate the general production, first nationally and then internationally, overlook

the most striking features of the economic development which is going on around them.

"Mere palliatives, such as those which have been advocated for years by the Social-Democratic Federation, and are now being adopted in some shape by both the existing capitalist political factions, are, after all, but palliatives; although the men who have been most active in championing them, have carried on this 'practical' propaganda with the direct object of preparing the way to a complete and, if possible, peaceful transformation. But wage-slaves under better conditions remain wage-slaves still; and the cause of the economic and class antagonism remains untouched by any half-measures. No improvements of the capitalist system of production can change or seriously modify the bitter struggle which must go on so long as that system endures in any shape.

"The time is coming when the expropriators will be themselves expropriated, and it is for the rising generation of Englishmen to decide whether in this country the substitution of organized co-operation for anarchical competition shall be brought about consciously and peacefully, or unconsciously and forcibly." ("The Commercial Crisis of the Nineteenth Century," pages 172, 173.)

In "Woman and Socialism" (p. 406, 50th edition, 1910) the author, August Bebel takes the same position as do all international authorities:

"But these state-owned institutions [mail, telephone, telegraph, railroad services] are *not* socialistic institutions, as is erroneously assumed. These institutions are exploited by the state, according to the same capitalistic principles as if they were privately owned. Neither the officials nor the workingmen are particularly benefited by them. The state does not treat them differently from a private employer. . . . These are not socialistic but capitalistic actions, and socialists have every reason to protest against the assumption that the present state-owned institutions are socialistic in character and may be regarded as a realization of socialistic aims."

Many more authorities might easily be quoted, but this will suffice to show that the disciples of modern socialism but follow the teachings of the founders. Frederick Engels in "Socialism from Utopia to Science," lays down the basis and makes the argument from which latter day socialists take their cue:

"Neither conversion into stock companies nor State ownership removes the quality of capital from the powers of production. With the

stock-companies, this fact remains obvious. On the other hand, the modern State is but the organization which capitalist society gives itself in order to maintain the external conditions of capitalist production against the attacks both of the workmen and of individual capitalists. The modern State, whatever its form, is essentially a capitalist machine; it is the State of the capitalist; the ideal total capitalist. The more numerous the productive powers are which it takes in hand, the nearer it is to that ideal total capitalist; all the more citizens does it exploit.

"Since Bismarck took to the plan of State ownership, a certain false socialism has risen, and even degenerated here and there into a certain degree of sycophancy, which declares off-hand all State ownership, the Bismarckian variety included, to be socialist. Indeed, were State ownership of the tobacco industry socialistic, Napoleon and Metternich would be counted among the founders of socialism. When the Belgian State, from purely common political and financial reasons, built its own main railroad; when Bismarck, without any economic necessity, took possession for the State of the principal railroad lines of Prussia, simply with the view the better to organize and utilize them against a war, to rear the railroad employees into voting cattle for the government, and, above all, to furnish himself with a new source of revenue that should be independent from parliamentary enactments—neither was in any way a socialist measure, directly or indirectly, conscious or unconscious. Else, were the Crown's Royal Maritime Company, the Crown's porcelain factory, and even the regimental tailor likewise socialist institutions."

It is but fair to assume that the inquiring mind will rest content on the testimony given: that government ownership of public utilities is not socialism. Therefore it has no legitimate ground to be classed as such. Yet popular opinion has it that *public ownership* is socialism, and rightly so, too, for this opinion is fostered not alone by the popular propaganda—by its soap-box orators and its ephemeral literature—but by the specific demands listed in the *Program* of the Socialist party.

Like its arguments its actions are "double crossed." Its demands are against its demands. We demand that the "capitalist state" shall own and operate social utilities is opposed to the ultimate demand of socialism. For every additional public service taken from private hands into the control of the civic body adds to the power and functions of existing government; that is to say, it extends the power of the capitalist class; hence the state which it is the socialists' mission to destroy, becomes the stronger. Deeply studied, perhaps no incident in its history gives stronger proof of its irrational foundation—stronger proof

that although socialists can gather a mighty force this force in action ever falls in upon itself—the point of the revolution is again and again broken, as the Marxian phrase goes. In handling irresponsible power it crushes itself not alone but innocent victims as well.

Ere socialism had raised its ugly head in the political world the fathers of this republic had embodied the principle of public ownership of social utilities in their local, state and national life. Thus it is that the further ownership of public utilities may be adopted by municipalities and states without overstepping the boundaries of our constitution, while the control of business not public or semi-public in its nature requires a constitutional amendment, which would necessarily be an infringement upon the right of lucrative property—private capital. About the year 1890 the Judiciary of Massachusetts passed upon this point.

The judicial opinion is in substance as follows: Public utilities are those things which require a governmental function, such as the distribution of water, gas, electricity—commodities which necessitate a single enterprise with supplies emanating from a single source—those things which require the use of the public highways, etc. We may then have the public ownership of all possible social utilities without the introduction of socialism, without a change in the “economic system,” for the sufficient reason that there is no assault upon private *property*, no demand for the “abolition of the wages-system” *et al.* Yet so long as socialists would ride into political power upon the advocacy of measures which avowedly are not socialism there is grave danger that the popular vote will give the municipality over into incompetent hands. Indeed it is just now doing that very thing.

The purpose of this division should be clear. It is to separate socialism proper from that indistinct notion of it which causes many a man, aye, and woman too, to aid in the propagation of socialist doctrine, which is in truth as far away from the ideals which they seek to realize as heaven is from hell.

Evolution.

"Eternal, infinite God, I perceive Thy omnipotence in the works of Thy creation, and am like one stricken daft with admiration and wonder. Every part of Thy handiwork, the most infinitesimal as well as the most sublime, is alive with power and wisdom, with unspeakable perfection. The benefits that accrue to us poor mortals from Thy works prove Thy infinite goodness, their beauty and harmony bespeak Thy wisdom, their perpetuity and fruitfulness Thy eternal power."

—LINNÆUS.

THE world in which one consciously lives is as large as one's attained capacity to conceive of the universe as a whole. If therefore Smith knows more about cause and effect than Jones it is sufficient proof that he has evolved to a higher state of understanding about the phenomena of the universe than has Jones. But about the Cosmos itself? That is another question. Hence it is between the *what* and the *how* that the issue lies.

What is the Cosmos, and *how* does it manifest itself and its phenomena to human consciousness?

As self-discovery is the primary act, the basis, of individual consciousness, it is certain that one's identity is a natural revelation. I am thus separated from all things else in the Cosmos. Yet *what* I am is to be known only by my knowledge of my origin. So, after all, this is the first question, *who* caused me? that of *what* is the Cosmos is secondary. To the Christian the answer is plain, God created me, the Cosmos is God's creation.

As a rational act must have a purpose, I have a destiny, the Cosmos has a destiny.

What is the universe as a whole? Certainly an effect; being an effect there must be a cause which is adequate? God is alone an adequate cause.

Here is the ground of reason, as the last step of inquiry has been taken. To go beyond is to be absurd—as who created God?

And to remain this side is to deal with the *how* of the Cosmos instead of *what* is the Cosmos? Hence the issue is clear cut, it lies between right-reason on the one hand and inadequate reason on the other, between Christ and the anti-Christ. The Christian establishes the identity of the Cosmos—God's Creation—before he gives his attention to the evolutionary processes of the universe. While the socialist paying heed, first of all, to evolution, permits *processes* to usurp his attention before the identity of the thing proceeding (the Cosmos) has been established.

Ernest Untermann concedes the ground and defends it as follows:

" . . . Every socialist writer of note is a convinced Darwinian and Spencerian besides being a convinced Marxian. For this reason, the socialist Darwinians are alone able to reason in a consistent materialist monist way." ("Science and Revolution," p. 149, 1905.)

Just so, as we said, here the *action* is set up in the place of the identity of the thing acting. Of course, taken as one whole the acts of the Cosmos is a monistic act, but as first questions come first, what should engage the rational attention first is, what is it that is performing the act? The one thing—the material universe. Very well, what is the material universe? Unless one is willing to swing round and round the vicious circle, plainly it is not the one thing acting, but God's creation.

So, truly, it is not our intention to quarrel with the *consistency* of the "materialist monist," but rather to make a great quarrel with his irrational premise. He has no First Cause. Denying himself this, he is bereft of the law of contrast at the very basis of reason, and consequently he deals with what he knows not. If he proceeds *consistently* from his blind premise to his conclusions so much the worse for his doctrines, being so wholly blind.

For like reasons we are willing, wholly so, to give "honor" where it is by Isadore Ladoff alleged to be due. We quote:

"The honor of the first attempt to apply evolutionary methods to the history of men unmistakably belongs to the great founder of the materialistic conception of history, Karl Marx. Without the conception of human society as a product of evolution, critical socialism would be an impossibility. As a matter of fact, critical socialism is nothing else but a

rational system of philosophy of human life in the light of the theory of evolution. The so-called materialistic conception is to be called more properly the evolutionary conception of history." ("The Passing of Capitalism," p 76.)

This is still closer to the issue of right reason versus incompetent reason, as Mr. Ladoff leaves "materialist monism" in the background to deal with "human society as a product of evolution."

But is human society a product of evolution? If we reason rightly, no. We see mankind evolving history, and history tells what mankind does, not what mankind is. What of the *origin* of mankind? Then it is quite proper, but of secondary importance, to inquire what of the processes—what of the evolution—of mankind. From the fact that socialism refuses to settle the first question, first, the *First Cause* finds never its proper place within its system of thought. Socialism is barred from the company of science by its refusal to ask *what* is mankind? Obviously this question would bring confusion with its answer: mankind is God's creation, not a product of evolution. Atheism, Pantheism, Modernism *et al* sees the design, the action, the creation and the formation, the work of man, within the Cosmos, but never the cause of the Cosmos. Never the *Original Cause* of the universe which alone could explain it. Hence the origin of man and the destiny of man lie as a sealed book to socialists. The question *what* leads directly to the identity of mankind, and only after the identity of the race has been established, may the evolution of the identified creation be scientifically observed.

Yes, the Cosmos is evolving! human society is evolving! But to arrive at the point of beginning in reason man and the Cosmos must be seen as God's creation, as against the assumption of "materialist monism," which is reduced to the absurdity of evolving itself. So it is that the system of thought—"the materialist conception of history," pronounced to be invulnerable, by its founder Marx, logically begins nowhere, and logically it must end in the same absurd place. "Economic determinism" has thus to solve an insoluble riddle. It must account for man who is conscious of himself as the creation of nature which is at best sub-conscious. It has the further task of accounting for the moral order as having evolved from the non-moral order,

as the idea of criminal or sinful animals is quite too funny. Furthermore it must do the further stunt of routing out of the individual consciousness the fact of free choice, as within its fold "the evolutionary conception of history" has no place whatsoever for free-will. But more than all this, these monists—philosophers of a complete scheme of life—deny the very principle of self-consciousness, namely, that of ultimate contrast, the created Cosmos as contrasted with its Creator, as recognized by the conscious principle embodied within the individual man.

We now proceed to take further testimony from their authorities in proof of our charge that socialist philosophy is destitute of the First Cause.

One thing is certain, that the Darwinistic and socialistic philosophical deductions expressed in conduct lead to the degeneracy of human society; for men are robbed of the understanding that between themselves and the animal-world there stands the moral law prescribed by the Author of life.

The authority of God is overthrown by the doctrine, which declares necessity to have shaped forms, to have originated design. Paul Lafargue (son-in-law to Karl Marx) in his work, "Socialism and the Intellectuals," says: "When Darwin published his 'Origin of Species' he took away from God his role of creator in the organic world as Franklin had despoiled him of his thunderbolt."

This from Enrico Ferri:

"Science and religion are in inverse ratio to each other; the one diminishes and grows weaker in the same proportion that the other increases and grows stronger in its struggle against the unknown.

"And if this is one of the consequences of Darwinism, its influence on the development of socialism is quite obvious."

Then in the name of what socialists term "science," Ferri throws the oft-exploded question,—“And God, who created him?”

Leonard D. Abbott, a prominent New York socialist, in a review of "Darwin and Marx," (*The People*, Vol. 9, No. 33), adds his weight to "science:"

"The fundamental theories of both Darwin and Marx are still vehemently combated by the majority of men—naturally so, for an admission

of their truth carries with it the downfall of popular religion and our existing social system."

The "popular religion" is of course the Christian religion. So over against the common-sense teaching of Christianity—that man is not only a rational animal, but that he is also an immortal being—it is that socialism sets up the intellectual degeneracy of monism. Which irrational assumption is reduced to its logical conclusion in the notion that nothing exists beyond that which man, with his physical senses, can analyze; and the further assumption that the only wants—the primary wants of man may be realized by the satisfaction of his sexual and bread-and-butter desires. Literature of this quality is dished out as "Modern Science." In words common to the street, "it is as old as hell."

Mr. Abbot is correct—"The theories of Darwin (as socialists interpret him) and Marx . . . carry with them the downfall of popular religion," and further correct is he, "the downfall of our existing social system." Certainly, for socialism can but destroy—to build is outside the province of its negations, and although the fathers of modern socialism are passed and gone, they leave behind them a band of loyal worshippers at the shrine of materialism, which is set forth in no uncertain tones

In "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," which *The International Socialist Review* (Chicago, Feb. 1906), says "still remains the one great short classic of socialism, the reading of which along with the "Communist Manifesto" constitutes an absolute essential to an understanding of the socialist movement." Frederick Engels gives Darwin the cake for showing that man came into being not by the *fiat* of God, but rather by the accidental presence of forces from this, that and any old direction. But like the lie that always gives itself away, so does truth come up to ask, what is the First Cause of "organic nature?" Surely neither substance nor force. We quote from this short classic, which is put to the stunt of annihilating right-reason:

"Special mention is due to Darwin, who dealt metaphysics its heaviest blow by showing that the whole organic nature now in existence, plants,

animals, and consequently, man also, is the product of an evolution that has been in process through millions of years."

This is naive, for it is not a question of the *time* of the process, but rather of the identity of the thing evolving. Is it God's creation or not?

Enrico Ferri comes close up to the point, only to miss it. We quote:

"I add that not only is Darwinism not in contradiction with socialism, but that it constitutes one of its fundamental scientific premises. As Virchow justly remarked, socialism is nothing but a logical and vital corollary, in part of Darwinism, in part of Spencerian evolution.

"The theory of Darwin, whether we wish it or not, by demonstrating that man is descended from the animals, has dealt a severe blow to the belief in God as the creator of the universe and of man as a special *fiat*."

The ultimate question is not with regard to the process which God set up for the creation of man's body, but rather this: Is man God's creature by a fiat which separates him in kind, not merely in degree, from the rest of the animal kingdom?

Christianity maintains that man is separated from animals by direct revelation, both natural and supernatural, thus endowing him with self-consciousness, by free-will, which prescribes his moral responsibility and by his positive art principle, which on economic ground puts an impossible barrier between the "tool using animal" and whatsoever animals.

Socialism, on the contrary, scorning, at best ignoring religion, risks its claim to science upon the evolutionary passage of man up from the non-tool using animal. Said a national leader while addressing a Boston audience, "Whether you like it or not, we are all descended from the ape." So it is that the dogma—"economic determinism" sets down as its basic principle that "Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter." (Socialist Party Platform, 1908).

Here is, indeed, a recognition of the animal life of man, but no recognition of his free-will, and so at best only a partial recognition of his conscious art principle. For it is his God-given talent for creating his own economic designs by which to obtain his food and to produce his clothing and shelter,

which economically differentiates him from the brute creation. Because of his talent for appropriating to his economic uses whatsoever of natural supplies, he creates his environment in conformity to his self-created design. By the exercise of his will he may create such environment as will best sustain him. By the exercise of his will he may direct the forces and reform the substances of nature to the satisfaction of his wants. By the exercise of his will he may direct his energies to the salvation of his soul.

By using the human art principle man augments his vision by the telescope, the microscope and the X-ray. With the telephone, the telegraph and wireless telegraphy he extends his power of communication—of speech. With the derrick and the steam shovel he adds strength to his arm. With the railroad, steamship and airship he extends his power of locomotion. Whence came this positive art principle by which man may first create his design and then work it out in substance, if not God given? It is not merely more of the same instinct to which the animal negatively responds in carrying out the designs impressed upon him by the Creator of the heaven and the earth. The atheistical biologists have not even a suggestion which covers this great gap in their theory. Evolution from their standpoint is a mock to common sense.

We repeat, this discussion does not properly fall upon the process of forming man's body, but rather upon the impassible gap which separates him *economically* from whatsoever animal. To be cock-sure of what is without satisfactory proof to any biologist of standing; to be silent upon the latest pronouncement that "animals do not think," and to ignore the common, ordinary facts, in the experience of all men at all times, in all places, is audacity carried beyond the limit not merely of right-reason, there is an impudence in it that savors strongly of ill-will towards Almighty God. Indeed, rebellion is the very first and the rotten, ripest fruit of malignant minds. Yet for one to declare his belief that his ancestors were not monkeys, would be a gross display of ignorance from the socialist standard of intelligence.

The links are still missing! and they are to be found before the dividing line which separates man from the animal

is eliminated from the time-honored standards, as laid down in the first book of Moses. Man is still king of all he surveys, made in the image of his God.

Of course we are aware that Haeckel in his latest book (which by the way is written with an anti-Christian animus quite unbecoming in a man of science) brings forth his fossil man-monkey of Java, his *Pithecanthropus Erectus* as claimant to the place of Sir Linkship. But one freak does not prove the "missing link" so surely as one shell proves a clam-bake.

In a manner which a school boy may understand, Henry George has set forth the universal experience as testimony against the socialist claim that there is difference in degree only between man and the brute creation over which God gave him dominion.

"The beaver builds a dam, and the bird a nest, and the bee a cell; but while beavers' dams, and birds' nests, and bees' cells are always constructed on the same model, the house of man passes from the rude hut of leaves and branches to the magnificent mansion replete with modern conveniences. The dog can to a certain extent connect cause and effect, and may be taught some tricks; but his capacity in these respects has not been a whit increased during all the ages he has been the associate of improving man, and the dog of civilization is not a whit more accomplished or intelligent than the dog of the wandering savage. We know of no animal that uses clothes, that cooks its food, that makes itself tools or weapons, that breeds other animals that it wishes to eat, or that has an articulate language. But men who do not do such things have never yet been found, or heard of, except in fable. That is to say, man, wherever we know him, exhibits this power—of supplementing what nature has done for him by what he does for himself." ("Progress and Poverty.")

Truly, it is the absence of evidence which socialism relies upon as the authority to prove that "God as the creator of the universe and of man as a special fiat has been annihilated."

And yet, to prop up its impossible premise that non-entity can produce entity—that the universe proceeds from nothing—that the positive intelligence of man has evolved from the passive intelligence of the lower kingdoms, it must at best set down some words in a string. These are from August Bebel:

"Natural science has made a myth of creation; astronomy, mathematics and physics have converted heaven into airy space, and the stars

on heaven's tent where the angels sat enthroned, into fixed stars and planets, whose nature quite excludes the presence of such beings as angels. The ruling class, which sees its existence threatened, clings to religion as the support of all authority, a dogma which all rulers have upheld up to the present day. The bourgeoisie believes nothing; it has itself destroyed all belief in religion and authority by its own process of development, and by science, to which it has given birth. Its belief is a farce, and the church accepts the help of this false friend because it needs help." ("Woman in the Past, Present and Future," page 146.)

More than a century has passed since the forbears of socialism announced the forthcoming "proof" which *Science* had in store for a willful world, namely, that man came from nowhere and was going to the self-same place.

Frederick Engels casts this perverse prescience into a known fact, to be worked out forthwith into proletarian votes, with which to organize that new but impossible thing, a "classless society."

"Man is the product of evolution, that has been in process through millions of years."

The world's authority on *time* denies this possibility.

"If Natural Selection be true, the geological time requisite for the evolving of species such as they exist at present, must be vastly greater than can be allowed by astronomers for the whole life of the solar system.

"Suppose it took 500 years to form a greyhound out of his wolf-like ancestor, how long ought it to take to form an elephant from a protozoon, or even from a tadpole-like fish?" Mr. Mivart finds it 'not easy to believe that less than 2,000,000,000 years would be required for the totality of animal development by no other means than minute, fortuitous, occasional and intermitting variations in all conceivable directions;' that is about one hundred times more than Lord Kelvin allows for the age of sunlight itself."

From his own pen it may be seen with what force the objection which *time* raised against his theory was appreciated by Darwin himself:

"Thompson's views of the recent age of the world have been for some time one of my sorest troubles." (Life and Letters, vol. iii, p. 114.)

And it is well known that the late Lord Kelvin (Sir William Thompson) who in many respects was considered the greatest

of scientists asserted "that science positively affirms creative power and makes everyone feel a miracle in himself."

Lord Kelvin's contention was that:

"Because biologists could not escape from the conclusion that there was original creative power when they studied the physics and dynamics of living and dead matter, science was not antagonistic to religion, but a help to it. 'A million of millions of millions of years would not give them a beautiful world like ours.'"

An incident related by himself giving not only Lord Kelvin's confession of faith, but that also of the great Liebig:

"Forty years ago I asked Liebig, walking somewhere in the country, if he believed that the grass and flowers which we saw around us grow by mere chemical force. He answered: 'No! no more than I could believe that a book of botany describing them could grow by mere chemical forces.'"

Certainly, there were no history without something to record; no knowledge of identity or of evolutionary processes without human consciousness; no self consciousness without natural revelation by which God the creator gives testimony of Himself to His children. So it is that common sense rests every act, conscious and non-conscious, back upon the Providence of God, not upon the action of mere chemical force.

The late Rev. D. T. O'Sullivan, S.J., of Boston College, an able theologian and scientist, says:

"Two important deductions may be drawn from reading the opponents of Lord Kelvin: the first is, that while they deny Creative Power, they offer no alternative; and, secondly, their reason for not accepting Creative Power is that they cannot conceive of it. The first shows clearly the limitations of biology as such and its ignorance of the origin of its own subject matter. Ignorance of a thing can never become an argument for its non-existence. Inadequacy of the means offered by a particular science must be supplemented by other legitimate means furnished by some other legitimate branch of science in order to reach the conclusion which the first science unaided could never attain. In the case under consideration the facts furnished by biology must be aided by a process of logical reasoning upon those facts, and the logical conclusion must be admitted by every reasonable mind.

"This brings us to the consideration of the second deduction of the opponents of a Creative Power—namely, that they cannot admit such a

power because they cannot conceive of it. This is a most startling statement in the light of scientific methods in every department of science. If there is one thing that any scientist demands as a matter of belief and to which he appeals in all his investigations it is the principle of causation. Remove this principle and what a sorry picture is presented by the investigator in the laboratory!

"Now, those scientists who rigorously demand the application of this principle in every step of scientific investigation should logically demand it to explain the existence of the universe. Hence, to say that they cannot conceive of a Creative Power is to abandon at a crucial point the principle of causation, the chief incentive to scientific investigation.

"Probably scientific atheism is based largely on the misunderstanding of the too great generalization of modern science. These great laws are the conservation of energy and the conservation of matter. But in reality what do they mean? Simply this: in our hands we can neither destroy or create matter or energy, and that we believe on the principle of causation that the same effect always follows everywhere the same cause, and hence we generalize. But whence matter and energy? Are we to deny the principle of causation here?

"It is refreshing to find such princes of science as Kelvin, Newton, Müller, Locke, Schwann, Pasteur, Liebig and others deeply drinking at the fount of science and impregnated with the true philosophy of science, defending from scientific grounds the existence of God in opposition to the agnosticism of Huxley, the materialism of Tyndall, the atheism of Clifford, the skepticism of Fitzjames Stephen, the positivism of Frederic Harrison and the pantheism of Haeckel to understand that science must perforce soon cease her dogmatism, confine herself to her own legitimate sphere and become as she must by right the handmaid of religion."

Socialism has no idea that science shall become truly the handmaid of religion. From the more important books written by socialists and circulated as socialist doctrine, it appears that they are more concerned with the dethronement of God than they are with the upbuilding of a better social environment.

And rightly so, for anti-religion was the spirit in which the movement was conceived and born into the world. We would not indeed charge this motive to all the camp-following, but it is true generally of those who write the books, make the speeches and mold the policies of the political party. The leaders give the "full consequence" only to those of sufficiently developed socialist minds." Hence to the initiated, socialism is the *science of life*, whose primary activity is spent in a quarrel

with God, and secondarily their quarrel is with that abstract thing, the "capitalist class," for the individual is blameless by the orders of *economic determinism*.

The key to the situation is given in a bit of popular history made on the Pacific Coast. The incident is related by the *Toledo Socialist* (May 19, 1906):

"Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis has been having a great time with some of the socialists of California, who protest against her elucidation of the theory of evolution on the lecture platform. Comrade Lewis has a talk on evolution in which she advises the workers to read 'The Evolution of Man,' by Boelsche. She has another talk which helps to spread Bebel's 'Woman in the Past, Present and Future.' At Riverside one of the comrades said Comrade Lewis made a good talk, all right, but she ought to leave out that monkey business as some people didn't like to be told they were descended from monkeys; also he wished she would stop pushing that 'Woman's Magazine' (meaning Bebel's 'Woman') as some of the church members didn't like it. And he claimed to be a scientific socialist."

"One of the comrades" evidently had better intentions than "scientific" knowledge of his doctrine—though it were well to recall that hell is said to be paved with good intentions. God grant that these good intentions work out to the scientific understanding that socialism leads to chaos not to order!

From these mighty little gentlemen themselves there is not much hope save in miraculous help, for notwithstanding the fact that their most illustrious leader has thrown up the sponge long since, they still stick to *economic determinism*, as the author of all things on earth and in heaven. Since Haeckel has confessed that "the innermost character of nature" is still a mystery what should keep Blind Force on her throne? As there is "only one" poser to science—"only one comprehensive riddle of the universe remains—the problem of substance"—and as that riddle material science cannot solve for the simple reason that it lies outside her province it truly were common-sense to quit. So, indeed, Science may be known for what she is—the handmaiden of Religion, not its boss as the materialist monist *et al* would make it out. Now that a godless science has no foremost man in its defense (despite the number of those who make of atheism a trade) why not take it for granted

that the inherent design asserted as the *fiat* of Almighty God holds good as the rational attitude of mind against the perverse guesses of those who dismiss God with silent contempt, or make of the Almighty a helpless abstraction with as many characters as there are blasphemers to turn them out!

In 1900 Prof. Haeckel wiped out with the sponge of indifference the only possible solution of his insoluble riddle, we quote:

"We grant at once that the innermost character of nature is just as little understood by us as it was by Anaximander and Empedocles twenty-four hundred years ago, by Spinoza and Newton two hundred years ago, and by Kant and Goethe one hundred years ago. We must even grant that this essence of substance becomes more mysterious and enigmatic the deeper we penetrate into the knowledge of its attributes, matter and energy, and the more thoroughly we study its countless phenomenal forms and their evolution. We do not know the 'thing in itself' that lies behind these knowable phenomena. But why trouble about this enigmatic 'thing in itself' when we have no means of investigating it, when we do not even clearly know whether it exists or not?" ("The Riddle of the Universe," New York, 1900.)

Why indeed "trouble" about the First Cause which lies behind all knowable phenomena? The *only* difference is that between the highest and the lowest. For quietly ignoring the *thing in itself* is not sufficient, the hatred of our Heavenly Father must needs be active. So by giving himself no *trouble about the one only* "enigma" of life was followed up by vicious deeds upon the field of science which but lately brought this most redoubtable gentleman of the atheist school to grief of mind, at least. And with Prof. Haeckel's reputation was lost the "data" upon which socialism builds itself as a "scheme of life." The event was rather gingerly reported in the daily press, especially considering the fact that "evolution" although discarded by the foremost scientists is retailed in popular accounts as a matter of course, and in fiction as trueblue. But in *America* (New York, May 22, 1909) the downfall of the evolutionary theory which was supported by manufactured dates and diagrams is competently set forth under the caption, *The Retirement of Prof. Haeckel*.

"Shortly before his seventy-fifth year was reached (Feb. 16, 1909) Ernst Haeckel, Professor of Zoology at the University of Jena had been

compelled to admit, over his own signature, the existence of deliberate forgeries in his scientific writings.

"Haeckel had published in 1907 a pamphlet, entitled '*Das Menschen—Problem*,' in which representations of embryos of man—and apes were given. Dr. Arnold Brass in '*Das Affen—Problem*' asserted that many of the diagrams were inaccurate and worthless, and that others had been *purposely and deliberately falsified*; that in particular, Haeckel's Gibbon—embryo (plate 111) was a reproduction of Selenka's drawing of a *Macacus-monkey-embryo*, 15 or 16 *vertebrae having been omitted, and the name changed*; . . . In proof, Brass published the original diagrams and Haeckel's distorted and forged copies side by side.

"This deadly parallel made all thought of escape impossible. Haeckel's reply appeared in the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* (No. 2, Jan. 9, 1909) and contained the following admission:

"To put an end to this unsavory dispute I begin at once with the contrite confession, that a small number (6 to 8 per cent) of my embryo diagrams are really forgeries in Dr. Brass's sense . . . I should feel utterly condemned and annihilated by this admission, were it not that . . . the great majority of all morphological, anatomical, historiological and embryological diagrams . . . are not true to nature, but are more or less *doctored*, schematized and reconstructed. . . ."

"The last sentence caused a sensation. Professional ethics require that the word *schematic* be always added to every diagram which the author has retouched or invented; whereas Haeckel deliberately left his readers under the impression that he was using diagrams from nature! The Zoologists of Germany were, therefore, compelled, much against their will, to throw Haeckel overboard in order to save their own honor.

"A statement signed by 46 professors representing 25 German and Austrian universities and scientific schools discredited Haeckel's work (No. 8, *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*) and 36 other scientists representing nineteen universities, botanical laboratories, etc., of Germany, Switzerland and Austria including the University of Jena agreed in demanding 'that henceforth as in the past, German scientific research shall rest on an uncompromising love of truth. . . .' 'Yet the *past* holds an ugly record:—' In 1868 Haeckel printed off one and the same diagram three times in succession to show the marvelous similarity of the embryos of man, ape and dog. Rüttimeyer called attention to this curious device, whereupon Haeckel conceded that he had been guilty of a 'thoughtless piece of folly.' The end of his career is therefore worthy of the beginning (*Augsburger Post-Veritung*, March 23, 1909) 'Repudiation of Haeckel is now unanimous and complete: he is discredited by the signed verdict of eighty-two of the foremost German authorities.'"

Poor Haeckel! indeed, to have falsely furnished the dates and the diagrams for the socialist proof "that the whole or-

ganic nature now in existence—plants, animals, and consequently men also—is the product of evolution.” Meanwhile the fact that he gave himself no *trouble* about Eternal Truth, at last sent him out of the university old, clad in dishonor; to think on the ruin of his life-work and on the eternal years! Again, a decisive battle is won. Science herself is still the handmaiden of Religion, thus leaving the old story of the creation of the world holding control over the fortress of human knowledge.

Yet there is no security in Haeckel’s disgrace! His doctrines are not thereby discredited with the masses. Indeed the knowledge of it does not reach them, much less the import of it. While the spreading—world-wide—of his false dates and his false diagrams supply the working class with the arms for a renewal of the centuries’ old conflict. So the *belief* that *evolution* has dealt the knock-out blow to Almighty God is calling into the socialist camp hundreds of thousands who know little of religion and nothing of science. This *belief* has already a deadly grip upon popular literature, and it is fast converting public opinion. Worst of all its poisonous fangs are sunk deep into the text books of our public schools. So it seems that our century shall see a widespread attack upon right-reason. Not merely by the numberless “intellectuals” who are against Christ, but also by the working men from all countries who unite to fight for the abolition of the wages-system by the means of a political party. Whatever in civilization rests upon true and tried principles—upon the authority of the Giver of every good and perfect gift,—these allied hosts would sweep away. Truly “a little knowledge is a dangerous thing.”

Morally Irresponsible.

"IAGO:

"Tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus. Our bodies are our gardens, to the which our wills are gardeners; so that if we will plant nettles, or sow lettuce, set hyssop and weed up thyme, supply it with one gender of herbs, or distract it with many, either to have it sterile with idleness, or manured with industry, why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills."

THE reappearance of an age-worn fallacy, materialism, which now takes political form with the advent of the socialist party must be met at once upon civil and religious ground. For the natural and logical result of the teachings of the "materialistic conception of history" is the denial of free agency. Thus does "economic determinism" strike a fatal blow at that attribute of human nature which holds man above the animal impressions to which he is cosmically subject. For its root lies deep down in the denial of Creative Power—of Original Design—of God. "Class-consciousness" is primarily an attack upon free-will—upon personal responsibility, secondarily it is an attack upon the natural rights of man. Here then is religious ground. Yet "class-consciousness" is an organized force, under the red banner, hence the attack is also upon the fundamental principles upon which our great nation is founded, and too upon the organic structure of our civil society, placing the emphasis of its destructive power upon the economic divisions thereof.

A leading socialist giving expression to the "class-conscious" dissatisfaction, which is prevalent especially in the east, with Walter Thomas Mills' lessons on "Social Economy," writes:

"I was astonished to find that his very first lesson contained two fallacious teachings on questions of fundamental importance to what we term scientific socialism, viz: first, the teaching of a design in nature

(hence a designer); second, the teaching that men have inalienable or natural rights.

"As to the first, I will advance no argument beyond the statement that it is totally at variance with the teachings of modern science. The importance of refusing to sanction it in a work on scientific socialism lies in the fact that when we get involved in intricate sociological questions we find that our main or basic arguments, and indeed our general views, depend upon our ultimate philosophic conceptions. For example: Without the materialistic conception of history, socialist political economy would not be scientific since it would have no relation established between cause and effect. But a materialistic conception of history is dependent upon a materialistic philosophy, hence it conflicts with idealistic doctrines.

"The second fallacy: The doctrine of natural rights is one that probably more than any other distinguishes the old academic metaphysical school of political economy from the modern scientific school. It is a fallacy that is refuted by all the teachings of history, and no person with any valid claim to a knowledge of scientific socialism would teach it. It implies that conditions are changed by a recognition of rights, i. e., by ethical teaching, and not by superior force exerted in the interest of classes favored by economic conditions. To permit the teaching of such doctrine is to vitiate the movement by destroying its class conscious and sternly revolutionary character." (*The Chicago Socialist*, July 11, 1903.)

The writer gives clearly the creed held by socialists the world over. He voices clearly, too, the necessity of keeping the socialist creed free from admixture with the demands of either the old or the New Testament. Socialist followers are true to "class-consciousness" only so long as they repudiate the *notion* that religious motives have had, in any degree, the shaping of human history. For the "truth" to the "class-conscious" mind is that only a "superior force" from the material standpoint has or will avail in moving men to deeds, in which free choice and free-will, play no part. In one word, life is *mechanical motion*, nothing more, nothing less, the human mind itself being a mere "mode of motion." *Superior force* caused the Christian crusades, and it is the one reason why men take up their cross and follow in their Master's footsteps, say these bluffers at modern science. For God is the author neither of nature nor of man—He merely isn't. In practice, consequently, because men have no natural rights, along with their other gifts from God, they have no legal rights.

In place of natural rights and civil rights and duties which have been supposed to exist all these centuries socialism is so

good as to permit privileges and miseries. The "superior force" of the most powerful class—or that of the socialist majority—gives to the miserables what privileges it pleases, and reserves to itself what privileges its "superior force" can retain. There is no moral law—no Ten Commandments because they "are totally at variance with the teachings of modern science," no argument is necessary, the denial of original design is "the easiest way"—the way downward to the den of the devils.

The Call (3-15-1909) ought to know what socialism thinks, and it does. For it thinks just what the "Communist Manifesto" thinks; and what *The Call* thinks it thinks is the thought of the socialist proletariat of America. And this *The Call* thinks because it does not, cannot or will not think upon the ground of reason that:

"The theory of natural rights is a figment of the immature capitalist brain. Now, having got rid of feudalism and having learned to understand the process of evolution, organic and social, and to know the meaning of the word 'nature' all thoughtful persons know that there are no natural rights, that the phrase 'natural rights' is a contradiction in terms, that rights are something established in historical conflicts, won by struggle with those who claim natural or divine authority or who assert their own personal or class will against the needs of society."

Yet, perhaps, after all its thought *The Call* does not think with that profundity of thought with which the makers, not of the universe itself, but only of that far greater work—the "Communist Manifesto:"

"The famous 'Communist Manifesto' was written by Marx and Engles nearly sixty-three years ago. It was the first systematic promulgation of the general theories, principles and policies of Modern Socialism. It was, at one and the same time, a scientific treatise, a masterpiece of polemics, a general plan of campaign, and the battle cry of the awakening young giant—the modern proletariat. Its terse brevity, its compact force, its depth and its breadth, its mordant satire and its defiant eloquence give it a unique place in the grand literature of the world. In the literature of socialism it is the supreme classic." (*The Call* 12-13, 1911).

As its "brevity" must omit the thoughts that are an old-fashioned necessity to thought, the whole world, besides those

who are to come after, must think themselves under obligation to Engels for the thought that up is neither up nor down, and for the still brighter thought that the Ten Commandments are truly—hope to die—drop down dead—cross your throat—out of date. This thought of thoughts is with a most dazzling thought thought out in "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism" (p. 128).

"From the very moment when private property in movables developed there had to be ethical sanctions of general effect in all communities in which private property prevailed, thus: Thou shalt not steal. Is this commandment, then, an eternal commandment? By no means. In a society in which the motive for theft did not exist, stealing would only be the practice of the weak-minded, and the preacher of morals who proclaimed 'Thou shalt not steal' as an eternal Commandment would only be laughed at for his pains."

If the proletariat were not responding to their instructions to laugh at eternal truths; were not acting upon the belief that what the possessing classes forbid, the confiscation of private property which they steal, those things are bad; what they permit, having a tandem family which workmen cannot afford, those things are good, this topsy-turvy philosophy might be merely funny. For it is certain that in a society where there were nobody and nothing there were no motive to steal. But happily we are folks, and happily and unhappily there are things which may be stolen. Though we all know what we should do and should not do, for God's commands are laid upon us, implicitly and explicitly. As Christians we know what we should do, for Christ has commanded "Come, follow Me." We know that we are responsible morally, for we are our brother's keeper. While in His economic parables our dear Lord lays down for our practice in all times, in all places, under all circumstances, the principles of commercial justice softened by Christian generosity. But the "greater" than our Lord God has said:

"My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them." ("Capital," page 15, Chicago 1906.)

This is philosophy. But here is also the application, the Socialist Party has adopted *my standpoint* so logically to 450,000 voters in this, our nation, greed is no longer a shame and a sin but a mere action of "superior force," as:

"The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed." ("Socialist Party Platform," 1908.)

The cry of the labourers hath not entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, nor shall rich men weep and howl in the miseries which shall come upon them, for no man is his brother's keeper; because the "mad race for profits" is only a passing incident of the "class-struggle" for which nobody is responsible. Of course this kind of wickedness is not new, though the particular socialist form of it is modern. The denial of natural rights and the denial of the existence of design in nature is as old as time. A century ago it found violent expression in the French revolution. The denialists of those days "abolished the soul," they set the goddess of reason on the throne of God and "adopted the guillotine as their symbol in place of the cross." The difference in methods, is the only difference between the denialists of to-day and the denialists of the 18th century. Man comes from the troglodyte, therefore he has no moral responsibility—no natural, no God-given rights. Man's human form is the result of the necessity in the case, therefore he has not free will.

We will take the testimony of a competent socialist authority:

"To the environment, in the last analysis, to the relations necessarily created by the multiple contacts, actions and reactions of the environment and the environed are due all the transformations of all organisms, and, in consequence, all the phenomena that emanate from them." ("Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism," by Gabriel Deville. New York, March 1901.)

This clear, short statement embodies the basis for the ethical standards adopted by socialists in general. The truth of the matter is that it is not valid ground. For the simple reason that man himself, as an entity, to be environed by an

environment is left wholly out of consideration. The question *what* is it which acts, and is acted upon, is of first importance. Haeckel gives up the ghost as to the "essence of matter." But this ghost is precisely what we want to know. What is the essential of this thing, man; what is the active principle clothed with matter; what is the *life* which claims its head, its heart, its hand; in short, its natural body? Surely each individual life is God's creation. Nothing in nature can account for the "essence of matter," yet everything in nature points to the Creator of life.

Each individual retains his identity intact, while receiving impressions subconsciously and consciously from his environment, local and cosmic, and at once impressing himself upon his environment. At least we shall not be warned off the ground of reason by the socialist failure to arrive at the vital point at issue by specious discussions alleged to be scientific any more than we shall be by coarse blasphemy. Neither has the power to move us.

Engels says rightly ("Landmarks Scientific Socialism," p. 40):

"In order that a science can be made out of socialism it is first necessary that it be placed on a sound basis."

Precisely! if economic society is to be dealt with scientifically, the entity man, the individual, and mankind the race, must be *placed on a sound basis* by a recognition of our Creator.

The failure of Marx and Engels to gain a conception of eternity as other than an endless number of causes which have followed one another endlessly, is given as a sufficient reason to deny a Final Cause. But these gentlemen confuse creations by God's fiat with the processes, the phenomena by which nature unrolls the wonders of the world. With good-will and St. Augustine as their teachers, this insuperable difficulty of the socialist masters becomes soluable. It is so simple to see that up and down do not come one after the other, but *at once*.

Having discarded the Final Cause, the socialist fathers were under the necessity of creating a basis for their science. They must "prove" the non-responsibility of the individual.

Can a man sin? No; there are no commands of God to sin against.

Can a man commit crimes against society? No, because society—his social form—makes him to do whatever he does. What of independent action? He has none, being a mere cell of the social organism, just as his food digests according to a habit that somehow or other nature set up—nobody knows when—just so does his mind work.

Is the individual man non-conscious? Yes, exactly; it was necessary that socialism be placed on a sound basis so it may be a "science." So the mass-man was made conscious somehow or other—the socialist fathers do not tell—and this consciousness overflows to the individual man.

"It is not the conscious mind of man that determines the form of his being, but, vice versa, the social form of his being that determines the conscious action of his mind." ("Critique of Political Economy," Karl Marx.)

Splendid! Society alone being conscious, society alone can commit crime, but as society is everybody, and there is nobody else, there is nobody to punish everybody. Really, perhaps, this were the easiest way to saddle our individual immorality upon the social body, but for the fact that the *social organism* itself has no way of keeping out of hell by getting rid of its sins. Then, too, *Eternal Truths*, which Marx and Engels have valiantly murdered, rise like Banquo's ghost, to sit at every banquet. But August Bebel shall murder them again:

" . . . the realization of socialism does not imply arbitrary destruction and construction, but a process of historical evolution. All factors active in the process of destruction, on the one hand, and in the process of construction on the other, act as they are bound to act. Neither 'brilliant statesmen' nor 'demagogues who incite the people,' can direct matters at their will. They believe that they are pushing, and are being pushed themselves." (Page 500, "Woman and Socialism.")

All *pushey* and no *pulley*, alle samie go like hellie, for Free-will is out of commission. Self-effort is entirely unavailing, because there is no such thing, for Fatalism is in the saddle. Thus:

"Political or scientific theories are natural phenomena and not the capricious and ephemeral products of the free wills of those who construct and propagate them." ("Socialism and Modern Science," Enrico Ferri.)

Socialism is a "natural phenomena." Well, it is builded up by men who are not responsible for their *capricious* and *ephemeral product*. Again, well. This being so, the issue of our day and generation brings responsible men face to face with irresponsible men as to the use of public power.

If man is not endowed with free will—if he be not free to choose between two courses of action, why hold criminals responsible for crimes committed? If the power to use one's faculties as one may determine, be not a privilege granted to man by his Creator, why establish deliberative bodies to enact public sentiment, public opinion, public judgment into law?

Why, indeed! If society is the criminal, not the individual,—open the doors of the prisons and set the thieves and the murderers free—set them *free* to roam where they *will*.

Yet murderers and thieves are sweet company, when Decency must view the classic program which shall *later on* lead to the "reversion" of the Christian family to the spontaneous matrimonial unions of monkey tribes. Be it never so *scientifically* proposed by irresponsible men for utilitarian purposes this way of creating a "healthier" *cell* in place of an honest family, is too foul for the slime of hell. We quote:

"The right of freely dissolving the marriage tie, which was recognized in primitive society, has been gradually replaced by the absolute formulæ of theology and mysticism which fancy that the 'free will' can settle the destiny of a person by a monosyllable pronounced at a time when the physicaequilibrium is as unstable as it is during courtship and at marriage. Later on the reversion to the spontaneous and primitive form of a union based on mutual consent imposes itself on men, and the matrimonial union, with the increase in the frequency and facility of divorce, reverts to its original forms and restores to the family, that is to say, to the social cell a healthier constitution." ("Socialism and Modern Science," page 103.)

To put this socialist doctrine into simple English: One but entertains himself with the idea of free will, it is not "scientific." With the increase in the frequency and facility of

divorce—with religious restraints broken—the practice of free love will restore to society a healthier set of men, women and children who in nowise are supposed to know who their parents are.

If one be not *free to will* to follow the lusts of his flesh—if one be not *free to will* to follow the aspirations of his soul, why then, to strive to purify the body and elevate the mind by overcoming temptation is merest moonshine. Why exercise self-control—why discipline one's sex passions? Why, indeed? "Sex fondness" is the standard of sex purity by the socialist criterion, or nothing is pure because nothing is impure, for God is not and personal morality is nill. Of course those innocent "proletarian comrades" who insist upon being at once socialists and Christians are not expected to tell just what this means:

"The new morality must proclaim war to the knife with this abstract morality centering in the individual." . . . "The perfection of the individual, not through himself but through society, is the motto of modern socialism and this doctrine involves a complete inversion of the traditional ethical theory." ("The Problems of Reality," Bax.)

To accomplish a complete inversion of sound ethics were a teeny-weeny task after the boast that "the last notion of an extra-mundane Creator is destroyed." For if common sense were stood on its head, although it were in a ridiculous position, it were still extant; but as the "new morality" is no morality, it is neither in nor out of place.

The "new morality" is degeneracy of mind and degredation of the spirit, and although it has in reason and in wisdom no right to exist, it is gathering power for destruction every day in the year.

By its scientific jargon socialism has made the only conscious man to be the "class-conscious" man, and besides, being non-moral and non-responsible he, poor thing, is conscious that he is not conscious of what he is truly conscious: Namely, that he is revealed to himself as endowed with a rational nature, together with its necessary complement, free will. Besides, he knows that he can choose freely between good and other good relatively; also, between absolute good and bad

positively. Being conscious that he is free to choose, his reason and experience shows him that he has the power to set out towards a definite object, good or bad, but because he is conscious of his moral responsibility he is aware that he has the right to set out only after what is good. Having the power to choose and the right to choose only the good, he is conscious that his free choice were without rational purpose if his will were not free to choose. Lacking free will he were non-conscious, non-rational and non-moral, truly an unthinkable state.

Karl Kautsky in his book "The Road to Power," states in part the issue. He discusses not the necessity of free will as the complement of our rational nature, but dealing with problems of economic phenomena, Kautsky shows that with free will existing there is no basis for socialism because concessions from capitalists can be made by acts of their will. This book of Kautsky's received the following editorial commendation from the Chicago *Daily Socialist* (5-4-1909).

"We have no hesitation in saying that this little work will be at once accepted as the very best general statement of the up-to-date socialist position in existence. It is the final summary by the man who is recognized as the foremost living Marxian scholar."

"The Road to Power" after contrasting the socialist doctrine of blind force—all events being determined by natural necessity, void of Original Design—not with the robust, common sense of Christian philosophy, but with a Kantian variety of pantheism, which illogically enough permits of a creative role of tremendous importance to living men, takes its stand against free will. It argues that free will permits of concessions to the working class by capitalists and thus a *gradual growth* into a better economic régime. Hence free will could be the determining factor in retaining private capital, as opposed to the Marxian dictum that "capitalism" is doomed to crush itself by its top-heavy strength. We quote:

"But this free will that is to bring about the 'gradual growth' really means its abolition. If the will is free and can shape things as it wishes, then it can also shape as it wishes the direction of economic development. Then it is absolutely impossible to discover any guarantee that we are

growing into socialism. It is, moreover, impossible to determine any line of historical development whatsoever, and no scientific knowledge of society is possible."

Aye, truly, every theory and every practice which separates mankind from the knowledge and the providence of God necessarily ends in despair.

Political Atheism.

"Reason and experience, both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail where religious principles are excluded."

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THE volume of atheistical literature in circulation within the socialist propaganda is stupendous! Underlying the political attack upon the economic system there lies the determined purpose of uprooting institutions having as their basis revealed religion.

The reader's attention is kindly called to our purpose of giving here the authoritative decrees of socialism rather than to give an argument in defense of religion, only in so far as it is necessary to uphold right reason, thus we keep within the scope of Christian civilization.

The tactics of socialism are elusive, to say the least; one may turn one page of its popular literature, finding there a declaration against religion, and another to find the assertion that socialism has nothing to do with religion. Though, upon reading its classical literature, there is no exception whatsoever as to the advocacy of a materialist basis of history, which is more or less coherently set forth. It is indeed a commonplace to hear that "socialism is my religion" from those whose zeal in the work is worthy of a good cause. In all our years of experience within the socialist party we have known but two or three devout Christians and no orthodox Jews to retain membership in the organization. If men of some little faith came in, it was soon broken down or they left the movement. The old German members, who launched the socialist organization in this country, having imbibed atheism with their beer at home, cannot hear the name of God without giving expression to contempt. Their hatred of devotion in Christian or Jew knows no bounds; their disgust at church attendance is undisguised. There is now, eight years later, no change in the nature of the movement, although it now (1911) bespeaks itself perversely,

both with brilliancy and with elegance, for many of the leading literati are enrolled as its members. Moreover the popular writers of the country generally accept with complacency the philosophy of socialism.

James Leatham, a prominent English socialist, frankly gives voice to the irreligious character of the movement. I quote:—

“At the present moment I cannot remember a single instance of a person who is at one and the same time a really earnest and intelligent socialist and an orthodox Christian. Those who do not openly attack the Church and the fabric of Christianity show but scant respect to either the one or the other in private. . . . And while all of us are thus indifferent to the Church, many of us are frankly hostile to her. Marx, Lassalle and Engels, among earlier socialists; Morris, Bax, Hyndman, Guesde and Bebel among present-day socialists—are all more or less avowed atheists; and what is true of the more notable men of the party is almost equally true of the rank and file the world over.” (“Socialism and Character,” 1897.)

Its deeds speak as loudly as its words. There is no room for socialist leaders who retain much of any Christian faith. They who are not *scientific* are disposed of with a surprising swiftness of dispatch. How?

If any man Eugene V. Debs should be trusted to set forth the movement at its best. In commenting upon the death of Father Thomas McGrady the cause of a broken heart was given. We believe this to be true, but not so much because of the envy of his comrades, which even Mr. Debs does not see as an appropriate means for keeping pure the gospel of hate, if the word pure may be allowed in atheistical company, as because of his betrayal of his holy office. We quote:—

“With all the intense ardor and fiery nature of his race Father McGrady threw himself into the socialist movement. . . . The country rang with his name and fame.

“Then came an opposition for which he was not prepared; an opposition that cut him to the quick, the *very same* (italics ours) that had driven many another bright mind and devoted soul from the socialist movement.

“The envy his success inspired found expression in dark hints that he had turned to socialism to ‘make money out of it,’ a falsehood at once so flagrant and malicious that no language is sufficient to characterize it. Narrow minded and prejudiced persons within the movement . . .

began to attack Father McGrady upon the alleged ground that he was not 'scientific' . . . and for other equally false and silly reasons." (*Comment*, by Eugene V. Debs, *Wayland's Monthly*, Dec. 1907.)

Such *comment* is not easy to understand save one reads the socialist movement below its superficial area. There, the reasons for the opposition which cut the ex-priest to the quick and drove "devoted souls" out of the movement are seen not to be "silly" although they are "false." It is not *silly* to defend a vicious system of thought, it is wicked. For its reasons must be *false* to right thinking and to right conduct. The one only defense of this "very same" *opposition* is found in the sermon on the Cross, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

Mr. Debs being the agitator *per se*, not the author of doctrinal treatises, quite underrates the meaning of the onslaught against his friend. It was in its own self-defense.

However much personal envy there was of his success displayed by Mr. John Spargo and other national leaders, the fact is that Father McGrady's socialism is not "scientific" as his writings will show any man competent to judge. His Catholic philosophy still colored the weightier half of his socialist opinions, making for himself a little socialism all his own. So it was just because "eager thousands thronged to hear" Father McGrady that his leadership was greatly feared. The self same priestly eloquence which could bring a Catholic proletarian into the socialist camp could not be trusted to lead this following on to complete atheist victory. The break might come at an hazardous time and so annihilate the gathering force of economic determinism. The risk can, of course be safely taken with petty leaders but not with a man of so great personal gifts as the late Father Thomas McGrady.

There are relative to the number of men but few women propagandists, though their "scientific" opposition to religion, however, is not to be outdone by mere man. Bertha W. Howe is convinced that religious beliefs are destined to perish by atrophy. *Because*,—of course, something is added—the inevitableness of socialism makes necessary the ultimate disappearance of religion. Big words these, yet they rest in the "socialist mind" securely upon Marx's discovery of surplus value. Which

discovery in its turn rests securely upon a unit of insecurity itself, namely, a unit of human labor power in the abstract. For labor to be labor must be the work of one or more persons upon a specific task. If the worker had not a specific task in hand whether alone hoeing corn up in the Aroostook or one of a gang working upon the most trivial and menial diversion of the Panama cut, it makes no difference, each man must work out a labor design in whole or in part. The lady evidently understands socialist doctrine better than the tactics of her party, for she complains that inconsistency is not a means to its progress—progress towards the end of Christian civilization. We quote:—

“One Comrade wrote that the only way to reach the church members was to first break their prejudices and convince them that socialism is not against their religion!

“What nonsense is this? Socialism is a theory of the evolution of human institutions, and is based not only upon history, scientifically interpreted, but upon the achievements of natural science as well. What picayune tactics, then, for such a movement, so based, to parley with the adherents of any creed or religion and promise them immunity from the results of scientific investigation? Socialism is either scientific, and therefore self-sufficient and inevitable, or it is unscientific and a mere nostrum.

“There is nothing to be gained by holding out any false hopes that a study of socialism does not tend to undermine religious beliefs. The theory of economic determinism alone, if thoroughly grasped, leaves no room for a belief in the supernatural.” (*The Call*, 3-2, 1911.)

However, *mere* man shall have his say, and Edward B. Aveling, a leader of the atheist and socialist movements of Great Britain during the last decades of the nineteenth century, being the best of authority, testified:

“Marx was an avowed atheist. And those who desire to know the scientific reasons for the materialism of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Leibknecht, Guesde, Lafargue, Adler, Plechanoff—in a word, of all the founders and teachers of scientific socialism—should read the whole of the introduction written by Frederick Engels in 1892 to my translation of his ‘Socialism, Scientific and Utopian.’” (“Charles Darwin and Karl Marx: a Comparison.”)

Wilhelm Leibknecht puts the doctrine in his “Materialist Basis of History” into the language which the proletariat can understand:—

"It is our duty as socialists to root out the faith in God with all our zeal, nor is any one worthy the name who does not consecrate himself to the spread of atheism."

John Graham Brooks gives it as his opinion, in his book entitled "Social Unrest," that this statement of Leibknecht's may be duplicated, substantially, from twenty authoritative socialist sources.

Leibknecht was a little later taught, by experience, that direct attacks upon religion was not good politics. At the Halle Congress he said:

"Instead of squandering our strength in a struggle with the Church and sacerdotalism, let us go to the root of the matter. We desire to overthrow the State of the classes. When we have done that the Church and sacerdotalism will fall with it, and in this respect we are much more radical and much more definite in purpose than our opponents, for we like neither the priests nor the anti-priests."

August Bebel, also an avowed atheist, recognized the necessity for different tactics than those employed by the French revolutionists. In discussing the assassination of the Empress of Austria, Bebel is, by the *Weekly People* (4-25-1908), reported to have said, "The gentlemen have no more faith than I have; that is none at all." He declares that by the capture of the public powers the "dethronement of religion" shall be brought to pass, inevitably. We quote, ("Woman and Socialism," p. 437):

"As with the state, so it will be with religion. It will not be 'abolished.' God will not be 'dethroned,' people will not be 'robbed of their faith,' as all the foolish arguments are worded that are directed against atheistic socialists. Such follies socialists leave to bourgeois idealists who attempted such measures during the French Revolution, and, of course, failed utterly. Without any forcible attack or expression of opinions, of whatever nature they may be, the religious organizations will gradually disappear and the churches with them.

"Religion is the transcendental reflection of the social condition of every age. In the measure in which human development progresses and society is transformed, religion is transformed likewise. 'Religion,' says Marx [Critic of the 'Philosophy of Law' by Hegel], 'is the striving of the people for an imaginary happiness; it springs from a state of society that requires an illusion, but disappears when the recognition of true happiness and the possibility of its realization penetrates the masses.'"

An experience of over forty years was made before the choler of the atheist-socialist German movement became sufficiently cool for them to recognize the fact that direct attack upon the religious belief of citizens retarded their political growth, and that a masked attack was therefore the best policy. It was at the Erfurt Congress (1891) that a resolution declaring religion to be a private matter was passed. No. 6 of immediate demands of the Social Democratic Program, reads as follows:—

“Declaration that religion is a private matter. Abolition of all contributions from public funds to ecclesiastical and religious objects. Ecclesiastical and religious communities are to be treated as private associations, which manage their affairs quite independently.”

Those Germans who can in their study evolve the elephant from their inner-consciousness are quite capable of evolving tactics to suit *socialist minds*. From this date (1891), masquerading as a political party, atheism has made much more rapid progress than by its direct propaganda. Especially with regard to the control of the public schools both in Europe and America.

Taking as their guide the tactics of their foreign comrades, the socialist conventions of the United States have passed similar resolutions to that of the Erfurt congress on religion; with persistent iteration it is declared by those who know better and by a multitude who do not—though it is a certain self-blindness which keeps the truth from them—that religion is a private matter. So it comes about that a very aggressive political party is the best proof of the truth of this falsehood which American socialists have to offer the inquiring public.

When to the Massachusetts socialist convention (1902), we presented a resolution which called for the official disqualification of those speakers who attacked theological dogmas and doctrine, the convention, running to cover for the nonce, passed a counter resolution declaring religion to be a matter of private opinion.

How strange that a political party should be forced to make this declaration! How strange that this should be “the modern scientific revolutionary” method of disposing of this question? The science of dodging the issue on religion when it is good politics to do so is the most accomplished of all the “sciences”

attempted by the Marxian school of applied atheism. If religion were in truth merely a personal matter no declaration of a political party were needed to establish it as such. But because God is the Author of nations, as well as the Creator of the individual man, both the man and the state have direct obligations to carry out the commands of our Lord and our God, and this is practical religion, personal and social.

The socialist party is, with no possible mistake about it, an organized attempt to capture the ship of state to the end that religious institutions be secularized. It is an assault issuing from the gates of hell! God grant it prevail not over our great nation! But to be secure in danger is a vice that has sunk many a man down to the bottomless pit, and undermined the greatest of nations.

And such is the danger which confronts the American people—aye, the danger which confronts civilization.

We challenge socialists on this ground: Prove the honesty of your resolution which carries with it the inference that you do not intend to interfere with the convictions, the doctrines of the religious; act up to your declarations by putting a stop to the circulation of the books written by the founders and promoters of the socialist movement; after which adopt additional resolutions denouncing the materialist philosophy of Marx, Engels, Deitzgen, Bebel, Loria, Bax, Labriola, Ferri and all other socialist authorities. Or, as Savonarola made a flaming pile of the vanities of his time, so socialists might spread a purifying influence over their followers by making a flaming pile of those abominations which drug the human mind.

No, this cannot be done; it would be equal to the complete overthrow of the socialist movement! To act like courageous men is not the part of willful blindness, the courage of desperation—the part of Macbeth—this is the part that political atheism must take against organized society, for it is a vicious aping of noble deeds that defends the gates of hell.

Enrico Ferri has set plainly down the reason why the Erfurt congress (1891) held religion to be a private affair; and, too, why the opposing “narcotic” atheism, the disenchantment of religion, shall let loose the wild beasts at the bidding of the socialist instrument of political domination. We quote:—

"Socialism knows and foresees that religious beliefs, whether one regards them with Sergi, as pathological phenomena of human psychology, or as useless phenomena of moral incrustation, are destined to perish by atrophy with the extension of even elementary scientific culture. This is why socialism does not feel the necessity of waging a special warfare against these religious beliefs which are destined to disappear. It has assumed this attitude, although it knows that the absence or the impairment of the belief in God is one of the most powerful factors for its extension, because the priests of all religions have been, throughout all the phases of history, the most potent allies of the ruling classes in keeping the masses pliant and submissive under the yoke by means of the enchantment of religion, just as the tamer keeps wild beasts submissive by the terrors of the crack of his whip.

"And this is so true that the most clear-sighted conservatives, even though they are atheists, regret that the religious sentiment—that precious narcotic—is diminishing among the masses, because they see in it, though their pharisaism does not permit them to say it openly, an instrument of political domination." ("Socialism and Modern Science," pages 62-63.)

We shall show that the socialists of France are not behind those of Germany and Italy in their insistence that religion shall be a private matter. We quote from the platform of the French Socialist Party adopted at Tours, March, 1902 (out of the 47 socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies, 35 belong to this division of the French movement.)

"The socialist party needs, to organize the new world, free minds, emancipated from superstitions and prejudices. It asks for and guarantees every human being, every individual, absolute freedom of thinking, and writing, and affirming their beliefs. Over against all religions, dogmas, and churches, as well as over against the class conceptions of the bourgeoisie, it sets the unlimited right of free thought, the scientific conception of the universe, and a system of public education based exclusively on science and reason.

Complete Secularization of the State.

- 1 "Separation of the Churches and the State; abolition of the Budget of Public Worship; freedom of public worship; prohibition of the political and collective action of the churches against the civil laws and republican liberties.
- 2 "Abolition of the congregations, nationalization of the property in mortmain, of every kind, belonging to them, and appropriation of it for works of social

insurance and solidarity; in the interval, all industrial, agricultural, and commercial undertakings are to be forbidden to the congregations.'

"Thus accustomed to free thought and reflection, citizens will be protected against the sophistries of the capitalistic and clerical reaction."

Poor France! unhappy France! So insistent has political atheism been that religion shall be a "private" matter that La belle France is now quite bedizened.

Although the marks of her self-evident degradation are plainly upon her, *The Worker* (N. Y., 4-7-1906) exults in this political carrion which was thrown out to gorge the Beast in 300 districts in which socialist candidates were nominated for the Chamber of Deputies, we quote:

"Free-thinking men, resolved to emancipate human societies from all clerical tutelage, to free the mind from all tyranny, you will proclaim to all that freedom of thought is actually suppressed in a social system which puts the conscience of the workers at the mercy of the owners and which reducing the toilers to the status of mere passive instruments of production, denies them the daily use of their intellectual powers."

It is common for those propagandists who make socialism to be what the tactics of the occasion require it to be, to challenge their opponents to show a statement in any party platform *of the world*, of course—socialism being fond of the ultra—that is hostile to religion. At the Linz convention (reported in *Vorwärts*, 126) the Austrian Socialist Party made its confession of faith:

"We doubt all authority, we know of no immutable dogma, we are the champions of right, liberty and conscience."

While so long ago as 1899, at the Madrid Convention, the Spanish Socialist party resolved:

"To expel any comrade who supported positive religion."

Surely any sensible man knows that a party platform merely puts in brief the cause for and the aim of the organized effort, as Liebknecht in "Socialism" (p. 35) says a socialist platform "cannot . . . be a commentary. The agitators, the

journalists and the learned of the party must give the commentary."

The best possible "commentary" on the plank in the Socialist Party of this country (1908) which declares that the party is not "concerned" with religion, is the dissension of the delegate body at the time of its adoption. We give it in part in our chapter on *Tactics*.

Indeed, socialists here are not behind those of Italy and other foreign countries in their appreciation of the use of religion—a private-matter-narcotic. Though a writer in *The Call* (12-24-1910) begs to differ in opinion with those so drugged.

"It has been repeatedly reiterated by Comrades, who would no doubt grant any concession to the host of unconverted in order to drag them into the socialist movement, that socialism has nothing whatever to do with religion. In fact, there is a clause in our party platform specifically stating so, in unmistakable words. However, I would, with all due respect to our theologically minded Comrades' feelings and beliefs, beg to differ by claiming that socialism, viewed in its wider, broader aspect, in the light of evolution, would forever destroy the church naturally.

"Socialism is infinitely greater and grander than our Comrades, the Christian Socialists, suppose it to be. It is not only a struggle to ameliorate conditions to-day, but it is the revolutionary climax to the evolution in ethics, religion, economic and political conditions which is now going on. Socialism would bring, along with its economic change, a change in religion, for the religion of any given body of people is determined, if not directly, at least indirectly, by the economic conditions prevailing. Thus, our present religious beliefs, are fostered and prevented from swift decay by capitalism.

"The deterioration of the church can be seen on every hand: its power is waning, as witnessed by the expulsion of the 'black frocked sanctimonious thieves' from France, Portugal and, tomorrow, Spain. And when the day comes that the socialist forces triumph, together with the cankering hulk of capitalism will sink that still older and more retrogressive inveterate sinner, the church."

This playing into "our enemies" hands by *Comrade* Harold Rappaport did not create a storm of protest as he had predicted. Why? For the simple reason that there is little if any dissent from his opinion. The men who are in control of the party machinery keep the movement on the tracks which Marx and Engels laid down for it to run on. Certainly we well understand the self-complacent attitude of mind with which

a natural leader here and there views such a declaration. Having more faith in God, abstractly conceived, than attained capacity for philosophical judgment, it is assumed that the church may go to the bow-wows and religion remain. Which is no more sensible than to assume that the country may go to the dogs and patriotism keep its state, or that the ego could hold its accustomed place amongst men with its body gone up in smoke.

Besides, the Christian Socialists (sic) are in an organization by themselves—just a little poodle to the class-conscious, so if any man of force essays to take a hand in the affairs of the party proper, he must mind his manners. He is permitted neither to interfere with its theoretical atheism nor its practical setting up of sex freedom along the socialist way. The Rev. E. E. Carr is making the experience—by his undertaking to clean the Augean stables—that the Turk will tolerate nobody near his harem. However, all unwittingly, no doubt, Mr. Carr has rendered political atheism a very large service, for he has greatly extended the acre of the evil-one. Moreover, he has cultivated the ground for the devil by a series of sex articles, which have for their foundation a “healthy animalism,” as such cleanness exists only in the imagination of good people who become bad people as soon as the principle is self-applied.

If Americans have forgotten that eternal vigilance is the price of our liberties, the congresses held by socialists of foreign birth and language should be a sufficient reminder to send patriots into the field of defense against political atheism, which is now a threatening cloud bigger than a man's hand.

The *New York Call* (4-5-1911) gives the news of the day as follows:

Italian Socialists Score the Church.

Declare they are against the Emancipation of the Workers.

“Utica, N. Y., April 4.—Churches of all denominations were placed under the ban of the Italian Socialist Federation of the United States at the closing session to-night of its National Congress, which has been in session for the last three days, in this city. Strongly worded resolutions, charging all churches with being against the ‘emancipation of the working

class, and for the protection and perpetuation of capitalism and moral and economic slavery,' were unanimously adopted amid vociferous applause. By the adoption of these resolutions, all members of the federation must 'sever their affiliation with any and all existing churches and religious organizations, and to refrain from all religious practices and rites.'

"In an impassioned speech in behalf of the above resolution, A. M. Giovanitti, of New York, the editor of *L'Proletario*, the official organ of the federation, declared that the Almighty dollar was the god of those who determine the policy of every denomination. He said that the church has always stood for the powerful and greedy, and against the weak and down-trodden.

"With dungeon, dagger, thumb screw and rack, he averred the Catholic Church has endeavored to convert the world, to the end that it could rule with an iron hand. The monster of feudalism, the divine right of kings, chattel slavery, and every other devise to make the many toil for the benefit of the few, he declared, had been defended by the church until it was forced to change its attitude by the force of revolutionary sentiment."

Of course the Catholic Church itself, rather than any of the sects, must stand the brunt of the battle. Although neither the divine right of kings is her doctrine, for Henry the 8th introduced that, nor chattel slavery, nor any other evil device. It is the mission of socialism to make Christianity a thing of darkness, for its own political atheism must appear to have changed places with the light of the Cross. Ah! certainly, it is "not concerned" with religion, not surely *concerned* with its promotion. No, but greatly concerned with its destruction. With well-feigned indignation socialists say, religion is a private matter. Have we not declared it to be such by resolutions; why charge us with attacking the church and its teachings? It is a capitalist trick to throw discredit upon the working class movement. Well, slander is expected from the Benedict Arnold's once in the party, they are necessary to the success of the movement.

What this really means is that personal opposition advertises the movement. As only the few will ever take part in its doctrinal discussions, and as only the few are able to judge of the right and the wrong of the economic polemics, so of all persons it is especially necessary to vilify those who were once advocates of socialism, as the means of emancipating

wage-earners from the injustice and degradation which bad economic relationship thrusts upon them; those who, after an exhaustive study of the movement found it to be the political sink pot of athetical philosophy, and so turned their energies to ridding our national life of this pest which promotes vile doctrines and manners in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity.

A late instance serves to illustrate this point. That thing dubbed Catholic Socialism was let loose by one who impudently takes up the mission of teaching his priest what socialism is, though he himself does not know.

The uninitiated were puzzled to see the advantage to socialist propaganda by the publication (*Social Democratic Herald*, 4-22-1911) of the correspondence between a party member and the priest of the parish in which he resides, as the priest's reply is so plainly in the God-like spirit, and so clearly does it point to one of the many weak spots in the socialist's letter that nothing but ill-will could prevent any but the veriest dolt from seeing the sham. But at second sight, its socialist value is seen; by example it teaches workmen who are more or less at odds with their faith to make of themselves important socialists by becoming altogether bad Catholics. And by its vile attack upon Catholic converts it flaunts disobedience by refusing to receive instruction, recommended by the clergy, from those who are qualified to show that socialist propaganda is in fact nothing more nor less than practical atheism from a political standpoint. Hence, that no man can take his politics from socialism, and his religion from Rome. There is no doubt about it, the socialist press is thoroughly well aware that any aid against the church from the traitors within the True Fold, albeit they themselves only half know the villiany they work, is a very important adjunct to the socialist cause.

Mr. F. L's letter is given a double-column heading, *A Catholic Socialist's Position*. After a column or more of suppositious questions, F. L. has the amazing effrontery to write as follows:

"Again, you may say, 'They want to enroll Christian people as party members, then convert them to their atheistic views.' If so, would they not have a classified list of their books or literature, in which atesitic writings predominate?

"No one has ever heard of such a classification, even the erring Catholic clergy, who have fought the cause so bitterly, have never found such a classification, and the entire charge of religious opposition is pure bosh disseminated either by the ignorant or deliberate misrepresentators."

This is astounding impudence, for the consultation of any one of the hundreds of lists of books printed in the socialist press will show that a classified list of "atheist writings" is precisely what is recommended to those who would learn what socialism is.

Yet this is not less palpably false than F. L.'s assertion that "socialists have no leaders." This being by the priest, pointed out as "absurd," who believes the writer to be honest, but woefully deceived.

From his false generalities F. L. descends to the slander of persons, which seems to be the real object of his letter. Our church is sharply reprimanded for:

"Trotting around the country an escaped socialist, David Goldstein, the first of his kind and the worst of his breed. . . . The large sum of money paid to Goldstein . . . etc., . . . should have been devoted to relieving the condition complained of in your vicinity, and what is more important, have thus at least refrained from delaying the ushering into existence the coöperative commonwealth."

F. L. finds words black enough for painting Mr. Goldstein, but having bent himself to the task of scandalizing a woman, words break down, though the brunt of his assault falls upon Mrs. Martha Moore Avery. Upon her "escape" from the Socialist Party Mrs. Avery was amply provided with a stock of secrets, economic and otherwise, to launch out upon the open sea of exchange, but this unspeakable woman:

"Seems to have been withdrawn. Perhaps she was too raw even for those who are willing to soil their hands and desecrate their buildings with such a contemptible person as Goldstein.

"But he and she may to a certain extent be excused. Expelled as traitors they had nowhere else to turn. But for the Catholic Church, with its horrors of 'escaped' nuns and 'reformed' priests, to allow her people to use him, is not excusable, she surely has suffered enough from the informer, traitor and spy. Yet the Catholic Workingmen's Welfare association of your vicinity take up and use one who unites in his person and his morals everything that is abhorrent, despicable and anti-human in the informer."

Having a good heart, F. L. excuses "traitors" even, but having a bad head he puts socialism and "our church" exactly on a par. One needs not to be a revolutionist to know that the most conspicuous place in the world to-day to give talent, inferior, mediocre or brilliant, its innings is the Socialist Party, if that is all that is wanted. While to the Catholic it is assuredly known that if one would serve truth—do the bidding of the Living God—there is no so potent voice of command as that of the militant church. To escape from the socialist movement, is to flee from co-operation with the anti-Christ: To "escape" from the Church is to fly into the jaws of death.

We hope the voice of the Good Shepherd will be heard in his heart and that our book will show him what—we wish we could say nonsense, though we must say wickedness he is harboring. We quote (same issue, S. D. H.) from the priest's reply:

"1. I am heart and soul in sympathy with you in bewailing the misfortunes of the working people in this country, and it was to assist them and their families that our Guardian Angel work was started.

"2. I AM as sure as that I am writing this, that socialism is no cure for the evils of the working class. It is a dream of the impossible, that can never be realized. You write like A SENSIBLE MAN, and yet you say 'socialists have no leaders.' That is a socialistic absurdity, and the entire system is absurd, even if it were not contrary to justice and in direct violation of the laws of God. I believe you are honest, but you are WOEFULLY DECEIVED.

"3. I wish you had heard Mr. David Goldstein when he was here in the city. His address might have done you some good. We need many more such speakers and teachers as he is to enlighten our poor working people and to prevent them from being led astray by the fallacies of socialism, as you have been led astray. I am sorry for you, and hope your eyes may be opened before you go too far."

However excusable are those misguided men who make up the numerical strength of the party, there should be no easing off of the judgment upon the socialist press. The pace of bully-bluffer set by *The Worker* (Algernon Lee, editor) some time since has not been slackened but quickened, if that were possible. In its dealings with the church and with trade-unions, it gives out base metal as it has none other, though of course it flatters itself by using an imitation of righteous in-

dignation. It would use the trade-unions to finance its schemes and to supply it with votes, and it plays fast and loose with its own principles, while its propaganda is taking root. We quote:

"Shall the church rule the labor movement?

"First, he, 'the Bishop of Buffalo,' has declared that the Social Democratic Party (or Socialist Party) 'is everywhere characterized by unbelief, hostility to religion, and, above all, uncompromising and bitter hatred of the Catholic Church,' and that its 'official programs, the platforms of its party conventions, the public utterances of its advocates, its newspaper organs and periodicals breathe hatred and threats against revealed religion, its doctrines and institutions.'

"The Bishop's charge is a sweeping one. We now challenge him, as Bishop or as honest man, to prove, not the whole, but one hundredth part of what he has alleged. He cannot do it, for it is not true.

"Bishop Quigley, let us advise you to reconsider your action. Your attack is an unprovoked one, for the Socialist Party makes no attack upon you or your Church or your beliefs. But if you persist in the attack let us tell you that there is no organization on earth that can fight as we can. Bismarck has measured strength with us, and failed. Russian czars and French dictators have tried to crush our movement, and they have failed. You will not succeed.'" (*The Worker*, New York, March 9, 1903.)

Not one word against religion? Indeed, thou art the prince of bluffers!

From the time of the Communist Manifesto, every socialist could have known that it was war to the knife between them and Christianity; while all Catholics were warned by the great sociological encyclicals of Leo XIII that socialism is the pest of Christian civilization; and they were encouraged to take up the organization of Christian Democracy to save modern society from disaster.

Were it not just a little too late in the day for those of the organized revolution to be ignorant of these facts, however innocence pretended, may serve the cause of the red flag? And were it just to the credit of Catholics not to know or not to heed the instructions of the Vicar of Christ?

The editor of *Sempre Avanti*, Turin, Italy, (translation, *The Worker*, 3-9-1903) replying to the question:

"Can we keep a picture of Christ in our socialist headquarters?' says: It can stay, but the picture should be without a halo, and should have the words beneath it: to Christ who was a man and a martyr to the principle of brotherhood among men."

Thus it is that the religious convictions of millions are outraged, their belief in the divinity of Christ blasphemed.

Thus it is that *socialist minds* are developed, and once evolved they breathe hatred, double dyed against religious obligation.

Some one had written to the socialist press in the silly strain of the Sagamore Beach Conferences to the effect that Christ was a socialist. This was a cue for the sometime Professor of Applied Christianity to speak, we quote:

"I have always been thoroughly opposed to the using of the socialist platform for the propagation of anything known as 'Social Christianity.' I have never, when speaking from a socialist platform, made use of it for religious propaganda. I believe every such use of socialism will result in confusion, disaster and betrayal. Every appeal to men to become socialists in the name of Christianity will result in the corruption and betrayal of socialism in the end, and in the use of the movement for private ends. People cannot separate Christ from Christianity. And Christianity to-day stands for what is lowest and basest in life. The church of to-day sounds the lowest note in human life. It is the most degrading of all our institutions, and the most brutalizing in its effects on the common life. The church is simply organized Christianity. For socialism to use it, to make terms with it, or to let it make approaches to the socialist movement is for socialism to take Judas to its bosom. There is not an instance, in sixteen centuries, in which the church has not betrayed every movement for human emancipation it has touched. Official religion and militarism are the two guardians of capitalism, and the subtle methods of the church, in destroying the manhood of the soul and keeping it servile, are infinitely more to be dreaded by the socialist movement than the world's standing armies.

"Let us keep clean from confusion and self-deceit in this critical hour, and not use the socialist movement for special propagandas of our own. If we belong to socialism, if our lives are dedicated to the revolution—and its emancipation of mind and body, then let us give ourselves to it without trying to use it, or without putting conditions in our service." (*The Worker*, March 30, 1902, republished from *The Advance*, also republished in *The Wage Slave*, Hancock, Mich., July 3, 1908.)

It is quite true that since George D. Herron became "race-conscious" (it is only the rich who may become so) he has not contributed to the confusion on this point. Dr. Herron has not attempted to saddle a Christ upon the movement. No, he has rather helped to tighten the girth of the socialist saddle, for Political Atheism was going "some" ere he joined the movement to speed the pace of the devil.

It is a *rara avis* to find in a socialist publication a statement favorable to religious institutions; but in opposition to the Professor's statement that we have had 16 centuries of church betrayal of every movement for human emancipation, we are happy to present the view of an acknowledged leader of the Social Democratic Federation of Great Britain.

Henry Mayers Hyndman has some little historical reputation at stake, but better than that, he has an English frankness which is refreshing in the discussion of whatsoever topic. We quote:

"The relations of the church, the monasteries and the clergy to the people were also most important from every point of view. There is nothing more noteworthy in the history of the human mind than the manner in which the essential portion of English society in the middle-ages has been handled by our ordinary economists, chroniclers, and religionists. Even sober, and in the main tolerably conscientious writers, seem to lose their heads or become afraid to tell the truth on this matter. Just as the modern capitalist can see nothing but anarchy and oppression in the connection between the people and the feudal noble, so the authors who represent the middle-class economy of our time, the Protestant divines whose creed is, the devil take the hindmost here and hereafter, fail to discover anything but luxury, debauchery and hypocrisy in the Catholic church of the fifteenth century.

"It is high time that, without any prejudice in favour of that church, the nonsense which has been foisted onto the public by men interested in suppressing the facts should be exposed. It is not true that the church of our ancestors was the organized fraud which it suits fanatics to represent it; it is not true that the monasteries, priories, and nunneries were mere receptacles for all uncleanness and lewdness; it is not true that the great revenues of the celibate clergy and the celibate recluses were squandered, as a rule, in riotous living. As a mere question of religion, Catholicism was as good as any creed which has ever found acceptance amongst men. Abuses doubtless there were, and most of them were bitterly attacked by members of the Church themselves; tyranny and persecution there were, too, in many forms; but the church, as all know, was the one body in which equality of conditions was the rule from the start. There, at least, the man of ability, who outside her pale was forced to bow down before some Norman baron, whose ruffianly ancestor has formed part of William's gang of marauders, could rise to a position in which this rough, unlettered swashbuckler grovelled before him. Sixtus V was picked out of the gutter; our Englishman, Nicholas Breakspear, Adrian IV, was a poor labourer's son; and these are but two instances, out of thousands, of distinguished ecclesiastics of humble birth.

"However dangerous, also, the spiritual authority of the church may appear to us, it was used for the most part, notwithstanding all the hideous corruptions of the papal court the days of the Borgias and others, for the

people and against the dominant class; and its influence, as history shows, was almost unbounded. Kings and barons alike bowed and trembled before it. The great art of the time, too, was, like all other great art, for public uses, and devoted to religion. But all this was trifling compared with the work done in the way of general education. The conventual establishments and the parish priests did far more than is commonly supposed in the direction of elementary teaching. But the higher education,—the universities? Where would Oxford be to-day but for the splendid munificence of bishops, monks and nuns? Fourteen of her finest colleges were founded by the celibate ecclesiastics and recluses for the benefit, above all, of the children of the people.

"Our noble Church of England has turned these magnificent establishments into mere preserves for the upper and middle classes. So I might go on in refutation of the foolish idea that the greatest institution of the middle ages, the most complete and widespread religious organization ever known on the planet, was a mere collection of idol-worshippers and incense-burners, and its ecclesiastical establishments nothing but dens of iniquity. My purpose, however, is not to champion the Catholic Church against the attacks of ignorant historians, but to show briefly the useful functions it fulfilled in the social economy of the time." ("The Historical Basis of Socialism," pages 14, 15, 16, 17.)

Mr. Hyndman then proceeds to show that church property was held in the interest of the people; that the parish priest was permitted to spend but the smaller part of his income upon himself, two-thirds of it going to the poor and to the service of the church; that existing account-books of the monasteries show that a large part of the revenues was spent on travelers, the poor, the sick and in other good works. In fact, the data brought out by Mr. Hyndman's historical research on this ground is in complete harmony with that of Dr. James J. Walsh in "The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries," although their interpretation is quite in opposition.

Following the monistic school of thought, Mr. Hyndman discards the basis of reason. Hence nothing can be seen by the human mind, neither the object to which he pays attention, nor that object which stands as its contrasting object, for just as a hat is known from a coat amongst things relative, just so all relative things are known by their contrast to things absolute. So it is that Mr. Hyndman is true to historical facts and yet false to the philosophical meaning of those facts.

We are told that Mr. Hyndman disclaims being a philosopher. Perhaps that is the reason that his common sense keeps

its seat when dealing with data relative to Christian history. At all events, with the materialist conception of history as foundation, political atheism as the means and socialism as the aim, very unscholarly tricks are the commonplace of socialist classics.

Having discarded God, the foremost socialist leaders and thinkers of this generation, like Paul Lafargue, whose "scholarship is simply stupendous" in the opinion of *The Call* (8-14-1910), must bully common folk into the notion that if one believe in God, he must believe in two gods, one good and one bad. If they argue *monism* is not the correct philosophy, then dualism is the necessary choice, so God and the devil share the honors of creating mankind. This flippant conclusion passes for the acme of astuteness in thought.

Contrary to the socialist view of Christian thought the basis of reason is not good and evil, not God and the devil. The basis of right-reason must be sought in the ultimate origin of things. The order of right-reason being God, my immortal soul and all things else—the Changeless and the changeable. Hence historical phenomena, which are constantly evolving, are never correctly read, save in the light of basic principles, which are eternally the same. Entering the world which man has builded, we come upon the moral domain, where to the merely natural phenomena man has super-added the economic world. Hence whenever and wherever within the civilized world men are sufficiently obedient to God's commandments, which never change, then and there the material comforts of the hewers of wood and the drawers of water are justly and kindly looked after, and the sick and the wicked are cared for in the love of God. But with a materialist philosophy, usurping the throne of understanding reason and morals are topsyturvy, and in such a *melee* the devil catches more than the hindermost.

As all socialists, Mr. Hyndman advocates obedience, not to the Vicar of Christ, but to the dictates of the Revolution. And the *personnel* of the Revolution translates Mr. Hyndman's forceful and graceful English first into the vandalism of anti-religious thought and then into anti-religious acts as recently in Barcelona. Thus the god of the Revolution speculates upon what he shall do when he is voted into power:

"This brings me to the churches, the spires, if any, will be used as stations for wireless telegraphy. In these halls the people will assemble for lectures, concerts, theatrical performances. . . . After the lecture or concert the people will have a dance, the old gentlemen play skat, and the old ladies hold a Kaffe Klatch . . ." (*Social Democratic Herald*, March 2, 1907.)

Of course materialist monists should not be expected to see Divine Providence ruling throughout all the ages of time; nor that political atheism triumphant should use God's temples as houses of praise and prayer. But we are indeed glad that even the enemy testifies as to the Church's good care of the poor. Mr. Hyndman goes on to say:

"Granting that large sums were wasted on the useless ceremonies of Masses and candles, that some of the monasteries had a well-managed refectory and an admirable cellar of wine and beer, it is certain, nevertheless, that the abbots and priors were the best landlords in England, and that, so long as the church held its lands and its power, permanent pauperism was unknown."

Now that rebellion against the authority of religion has deprived artizans of the "best landlords," and taken from the Church the economic power to prevent pauperism, the *Revolution* would go farther on the road to social disruption by taking away from the state the security of the home and from women the protection of marriage:

"Religion has all through the ages been a disruptive force. . . . The Socialist Party, . . . has no more right to condemn those who believe that men and women can be clean and true husbands and wives without a clergyman's benediction than it has to impose upon its members any one of the many forms of marriage ceremony, each of which has been declared to be the only holy or legitimate one.

"The Socialist Party has no more right to condemn the atheists, be there few or many in its ranks, than it has to condemn the Presbyterians or the Quakers or the Jews or the Catholics. It has no more right to endorse the belief in God than to denounce such a belief." (*The Worker*, 4-26-1903.)

No! certainly not, the Socialist Party has no "right to condemn" its own teaching. It openly declares its adherence to the principles of free love, which our next chapter will prove. But a self-respecting, law-abiding, God-fearing

body of men organized into a political party have the right and would exercise the right of protecting the integrity of the family by upholding civil and ecclesiastical marriage.

However, it should be added that the word *right* in the mouth of the class-conscious cannot have a moral significance; it merely means superior mechanical force. Again, the Socialist Party has "no right to condemn the atheists" within its ranks, for atheism lies at the base of its propaganda. To condemn atheists, it would be necessary to overthrow its "economic determinism," its "materialist conception of history," along with the rest of its "class-conscious" jargon. If it were to condemn atheists, the major portion of its membership would be "disciplined" out of the party. If it were to condemn atheists every party paper would be searching for a new editor. No indeed! It would not do to condemn atheists, for there would not be a grease spot of the Socialist Party left to tell the tale of its dissolution. But this is after all only a little pleasantry on editor Lee's part. Just a little sophistry, a little Punch and Judy justice—just a little touch of socialistic tactics.

With no marriage ceremony required and no declaration in the belief of God, the "greatest freedom" which is to be given mankind under the socialist régime, will be amidst the ruins of the church, the state and the family. It will be the "freedom and harmony" of no restraint, of no condemnation of sex relations outside the marriage bond, dilated upon. Wild liberty, this!—Freedom and harmony gone mad. One may as well picture an ideal freedom with ferocious beasts roaming the city streets as to picture ideal human freedom with religious faith and moral standards broken. But to this end, affirms this editorial, is political power sought by the Socialist Party. We quote:

"Under the conditions now existing in this country, political action presents itself as the method by which this change should be affected."

Is not this a gingerly fashion of announcing that political atheism is the means of overcoming religion, which "has all through the ages been a disruptive force?" Surely it were great praise to the fine feelings of the proletariat that modern

blasphemy should take on so mincing a gait. Truly it were hard work for these "heretics," as John Mitchell styled them, these defamers of civic virtue to be and not to be thoroughly at war with Christianity and merely for an economic program. But having recourse to a well-groomed duplicity, editor Lee continues:

"Whoever seeks to commit the organized socialist movement to any declaration upon other than economic and political principles seeks, wilfully or not, but none the less injuriously if without evil intent, to divide and to weaken the movement."

If only socialists dared to be in the open what they are in thought, it were a simple matter to rid our country of the pest. It was their master politician, Hillquit, who counseled double dealing with regard to the religious planks at the last national platform on the plea that under the fire of public questioning socialists have frequently not the courage of their convictions (Proceedings, Socialist Party Convention, Chicago, 1908).

We repeat, political action on the part of socialists is merely the means of changing the whole fabric of society—economic, political, judicial, moral and religious. In other words, socialism is the foe, not of the vices which afflict Christian civilization, but of organized society itself. We dare its promoters to stand out in the light—to be in the open what they are in the dark—to stand by the words of their masters, Marx and Engels, in "the most international production of all socialist literature," the "Communist Manifesto,"—to stand without *finesse* before the American people as the advocates of a Godless society. To be as:

"The Communists disdaining to conceal their views and aims, they openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution."

We dare socialists to state plainly, in words which the man in the street understands the meaning of, their political program. To state explicitly, that atheism lies at the foundation of its economic demands; and that no faith in God is the root of the system, if system it may be called, which gain-

ing the political power, shall be introduced. In one word, we dare socialists to pick up the gage of battle on the plain issue, namely, atheism as the proposed foundation of socialist society versus God as the Author of nations. But as we are sure that the socialist platform makers dare not be so bold as to tell the American voters just what they really mean we shall set down what it were fatal to their party progress not to conceal—the fact that “economic determinism” is in reality the socialist substitute for God. We quote at some length from “The Economic Foundations of Society,” by Achille Loria, the Italian socialist, who is recognized as the “greatest living exponent of economic determinism.” This book is especially recommended by the National Ex. Com. of the Socialist Party.

“If we examine the psychological influences surrounding isolated or co-actively associated labor, we find they reduce themselves to the following: First, labor, whose productivity is limited, either on account of its lack of association, or by reason of the checks imposed by compulsory association, is unable to dominate matter completely, and finds itself accordingly unable to effectually control the forces of nature. Second, this fact, taken together with the unconscious character of the social relations surrounding the individual, determines a sort of obsession of the mental faculties, and engenders a feeling of degradation and impotence, because he, as an individual, feels himself the victim of social forces, of whose ulterior tendencies he is ignorant, and whose processes he is unable to control. Third, the necessity of reconciling the social conscience to the existence of economic forms which are essentially corrupt, leads, by a systematic falsification of logic, to the institution of a settled sophism.

“These three influences combined—and more particularly the first—result in a psychological phenomenon of extraordinary compass, namely the idea of the supernatural.

It is, therefore, in no wise strange that the religious sentiment is thus developed as the psychological product of isolated or co-actively associated labour.

“Religious ideas, however elaborate and complex, are all derived from the original feeling of impotence that the human being experiences before the forces of nature; and this sentiment, in turn, is the historical product of either the non-association or the compulsory association of labour. Such is the psychological basis upon which capitalistic society has been able to elaborate its methods of coercive morality. Now, given such psychological conditions, with their resulting mental phenomena, the means of moral suasion which society has at its disposal, evidently reduce themselves to the following: *fear, religion and public opinion.*

"Religion in the sense of an invocation of Divine aid through prayers and offerings, does not of itself imply morality. Morality is a relation between man and man; religion is a relation between man and God; and these two relations may very well be disconnected and exist independently of each other. This is so true that in many religions the moral element is absolutely lacking. . . . Though religion is thus not necessarily accompanied with moral sanctions, it may, nevertheless, be made to serve as an excellent instrument of moral coercion. . . . In this way God becomes, as it were, the capitalist of heaven, crediting men with the good actions performed during their lifetime, and paying them a proportional salary either in this life or in the life to come. Thus the fear of Divine punishment succeeds in doing violence to the egoism of the individual, deterring him from acting in conformity with his own interests, and impelling him to acts which are opposed to his own, but in conformity with the real egoism of his oppressors.

"After we have once thoroughly grasped the truth that capitalistic property is not a natural phenomenon but a violation of law, both human and divine—the impossible erected into a system—we shall be able to understand how in order to guarantee the persistence of so absurd and contradictory a system it is necessary to draw upon all the passions and sentiments of human nature, corrupt them at their purest sources and divert them into the service of this monstrous engine of iniquity."

Here are the principles upon which the political party is builded, and socialists are in honor bound, or would be if honor could be educed from atheism, to set down in terms that he who runs may read the pith of these assumptions.

If it be true, as Loria affirms, that "The religious sentiment is developed as the psychological product of co-actively associated labor," then is revealed religion a "monstrous engine of iniquity!"

Then are religious precepts and religious teaching—a vain delusion and a snare, for "Religious ideas are derived from the feeling of impotence." "God is the capitalist of heaven," leading men "by a systematic falsification of logic" and with "fear of Divine punishment," to perform acts "in conformity with the interest of their oppressors." If this be true, then is the world's history false. The path cut through the wilderness of the ages by the vanguard of the religious is a curse, not a blessing—the democracy of religion which teaches that God is no respecter of persons—that all men are equal before Him is said to corrupt men "at their purest source."

But as even the devil commits himself by giving his lie away, so does this great Italian, "the greatest living exponent" of the basic principles of the Socialist Party platform give away the impotence of his reasoning. For how can a thing be pure or impure with mere mechanical motion—with a mere mode of production—as its original progenitor?

What we challenge socialists to do is simply this, to open to public view the vital difference between the socialist conception of the origin of religious faith and the teachings of the Mosaic and Christian law?

Religions are built upon the authority of Almighty God. Whether such authority is recognized as coming to the Hebrew nation, whether the authority is recognized in the apostolic successors of Jesus Christ, or whether the Bible is accepted as the authority, all are agreed that Divine Revelation is the source, the one only source, of religious faith and institutions. Socialists affirm that religious, philosophical, artistic, literary and other institutions are the result of economic environment, and change with the changing economic order.

"In the third month of the departure of Israel out of the land of Egypt, on this day they came into the wilderness of Sinai:

"And Moses went up to God: and the Lord called unto him from the mountain, and said: Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel:

"You have seen what I have done to the Egyptians, how I have carried you upon the wings of eagles, and have taken you to myself.

"If therefore you will hear my voice, and keep my covenant, you shall be my peculiar possession above all people: for all the earth is mine.

"And you shall be to me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation. These are the words thou shalt speak to the children of Israel.

"And Moses came down from the mount to the people, and sanctified them.

"And the Lord spoke the words of the Commandments to Moses.

"And all the people saw the voices and the flames, and the sound of the trumpet, and the mount smoking: and being terrified and struck with fear, they stood afar off.

"And Moses said to the people: Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that the dread of him might be in you, and you should not sin.

"And the Lord said to Moses: Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: You have seen that I have spoken to you from heaven.

"Do not think that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

"For the law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.

"And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up:

"For God so loved the world, as to give his only begotten Son; that whosoever believeth in him, may not perish, but may have life everlasting.

"For God sent not his Son into the world, to judge the world, but that the world may be saved by him.

"He that believeth in him is not judged. But he that doth not believe, is already judged: because he believeth not in the name of the only begotten Son of God.

"Jesus saith to them: But whom do you say that I am?

"Simon Peter answered and said: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.

"And Jesus answering, said to him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my father, who is in heaven.

"And I say to thee: that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

So it is that the Ten Commandments stand eternally as the moral law, while the Beatitudes make up the counsels to human perfection given by our Lord Jesus Christ for all time, to all persons. So it is that revelation forms the basis of religious faith and institutions. Socialism makes a mock at revelation and faith; hence the very nature of the beast compels socialists to stand, having the courage of their convictions, diametrically opposed to existing religious institutions.

So it is that the vital issue between citizen and citizen at the polls is after all not a matter of politics proper, but this: shall the public powers be used in the interest of egotism or in the interest of the spirit of sacrifice, which is at its base the force that builds and sustains the nation?

How absurd is socialism's accounting of itself. It has but matter and force to start with as the foundation of all things, yet when it waxes wroth it forgets its "science" and takes to common sense. It protests that *capitalist property* is not a "natural phenomena" but a violation of both human and Divine law. How may one who denies the existence of God talk of Divine law? Without God, how even may one talk of "human law?" Without God the rational principle

has no origin and so no existence, neither in reason nor in fact. Statute law rests on human law, not on mechanical law, and human law in its turn is based upon natural rights, and natural law springs from the rational nature, which is the direct gift of God to man. Having denied the existence of God, very consistently socialism denies the existence of natural rights, for if "the religious sentiment is developed as the psychological product of co-actively associated labor," the belief in God falls! Divine law falls, and all laws fall. So traveling along its path of folly egotism finds its proper estate, as without law chaos instead of order reigns.

With atheism as the cause of the socialist movement, it surely were becoming that chaos should be found as the logical end of its contentions. Indeed the Socialist Party would thus erect "the impossible" into a system.

Socialist economics is equally as erratic as its philosophical sire is without rational foundation. This "science" has also erected the impossible into a system. Beginning with a chain of "mutual dependencies" an organic whole is erected without an efficient cause. Not even the stuff of which dreams are made is laid down as the foundation of this too solid property of the "capitalist" régime. And yet though God Himself is alleged to be a psychological product natural to property relations, it is asserted that "capitalist property is not a natural phenomena." All this worse than nonsense is proposed for the deepest of human wisdom in order to make out that religion evolves with the evolving economic system. That the evolving economic system is perforce coming up to the socialist régime as the next step in human affairs is their dogma. Thus at once doing away with the ages' long class-struggles, while creating a "classless" society; also doing away with God altogether and at once creating a "race-conscious" society. With this consequence that the "social organism" having attained free will, shall, at last, realize the "Supreme Being" in itself—in the mass-man.

Surely an organized body, of four thousand locals within the United States, supporting a political party founded upon these principles and controlled by men holding these views should be known as political atheism.

But as this is not well understood, and as many a well-intentioned man thinks the movement must be in the right direction, for one reason that "so many cultivated persons are joining it," we shall enforce our conclusion by additional testimony, on this ground, namely, that as religion in its basic sense is natural to mankind because God is the Creator of the race; so also that private property is natural to the use of the economic talents bestowed upon mankind. Hence, political atheism as an integral part of our natural activity should not be permitted to expand its deadly influence within our borders, by patriotic citizens of whatsoever faith.

We present here as the natural defense of religion a statement from the late Rev. Fr. L. A. Lambert, the author of the two books ("Notes on Ingersoll," and "The Tactics of Infidels"), the earnest perusal of which would arrest the development of "socialist minds," who defines religion as follows:

"By the word religion, when used without adjective or qualification, is meant that primitive and universal intuition or idea which is common to all men, and is one and the same in all, however various their *forms* or *systems* of religion may be. This primitive idea is that of a power superior to that of man; of a Supreme Being who governs all things. From this primitive idea springs the idea of relations between this Supreme Being and man, and from these are derived obligations, duties and the impulse to worship and to manifest that worship by external acts. All the various *forms* or *systems* of religion, true or false, that are known to the world have their origin in this primitive intuition or idea called religion; without it they would be alike impossible. This primitive idea is a fundamental fact of our nature, it is the common property of all men, Christian, Jew or Gentile. The errors of false systems of religion are not in the primitive idea but in the false *development* of it."

Now that we have shown revelation to be the basis of religious beliefs and institutions: now that we have an understanding of what is meant by religion as an unqualified term, this question is pertinent. Is the socialist doctrine compatible with religion?

Suppose we invite Loria first to answer.

"Religious ideas, however elaborate and complex," are the "historical product of either the non-association or compulsory association of labor."

The organizer of the modern socialist movement of France, Paul Lafargue (a son-in-law of Karl Marx), shall next set forth his views; taken from "The Evolution of Property" (p. 58).

"Religious rites and ceremonies were instituted to impress upon the superstitious minds of primitive people the respect due to private property of the family collectively."

Curiously enough Lafargue's intellectual vandalism finds it necessary to pay tribute to the humanity of Mother Church, even as he tells the imaginary history of the development of Christianity, which development is assumed to consist in the progressive lessening of Christian charity. We quote from *Bourgeois' Charity* (translation, *The Call*, 8-12-1910):

"The holidays of the Catholic Church, which numbered ninety fete days, besides the fifty-two Sundays, and which made an average of three holidays a week, on which days under the ancient régime they were forbidden to work, placed an obstacle to the exploitation of labor. Likewise the distribution of soup and rations, which many monasteries kept up, complemented to some degree the wages of the needy workmen which they received for the four days of the week on which it was permissible to exploit them. Protestantism, in order to satisfy the industrial bourgeois who were very numerous in its ranks, condemned alms-giving in the name of religion and abolished the saints from heaven in order to suppress the fete days on earth. The revolution of 1789 did still more. The reformed religion preserved the Sundays, but the bourgeois revolutionaries, finding that one day of rest in every seven was too much, substituted for the week the decade, so that the day of rest fell only on every tenth day, and in order to obliterate completely the memory of the fete days they replaced the saints in the republican calendar with the names of metals, plants and animals. The law of the twenty-fourth vendémiaire of the year II made alms-giving a misdemeanor."

Of course, it is clear enough to those who are able to discriminate between the history that is genuine and the "history" that is made to justify the lust of Henry the 8th or to prove the socialist creed, that the Catholic Church having been despoiled of her economic possessions and her guild organizations has for some four hundred years been unable to protect the masses from the wilful despoilation consequent upon the greed of the masters who inherited the code of disobedience to the Vicar of Christ. As socialism is in direct line of descent from

the so-called Reformation, it should be historically clear that not more of anti-Christianity but none at all were the cure for the several ills that afflict the body politic.

It were curious, too, that Engels, in "The Roots of Socialist Philosophy," must perforce pay homage to Christianity—to the moral standards it has inculcated. This is done in obscure language, evidently it is intended to warn off any scrupulous suggestions which might enter his own or the reader's mind as to the truth, after all, that religion is a vital force—the most vital in the case of each one of the countless millions who come from and go to God. Even this mental darkness is made darker by an added sentence to fix firm that uneasy science which reports that "the material" of which *ideology* is made springs from the relationships of employer and employee. We quote:

"Religion once arisen contains material of tradition, hence in all ideological matters, religion is a great conservative force. But the changes which take place in this material spring from class conditions, that is from the economic circumstances of the men who take these changes in hand."

Certainly, "religion is a great conservative force." Religious influences have promoted and sustained the progress of civilization, as against the lewdness of the influence of materialism. For the simple reason that God set up the standards of morality and commands obedience thereto, which conserves the life of man.

August Bebel says the same thing, and he also is the best of socialist authority:

"Ethics and morality exist even without religion. Only fools and hypocrites would assert the contrary. Ethics and morality are the expression of conceptions that regulate the actions and mutual relations of men, while religion comprises the relations of men to supernatural beings. But, like religion, our moral conceptions, too, arise from prevailing social conditions." ("Woman," page 439.)

Atheism is not alone the "science," it is also the art of the international movement.

It is certain that the animus of the Austrian socialists is directed against religion, for this phrase is to be found in their platform, "No religious bodies to have privileges."

Karl Kautsky, than whom no man stands higher in the international socialist movement, has this to say:

"In France, where the traditions of the French Revolution continue to exercise so powerful an action, where the religious orders have become fighting organizations on the side of reaction . . . we must demand the dissolution of the orders, and the confiscation of their property." (*Social Democrat*, London, England, May 15, 1903.)

In commenting upon the booklet, "Morals and Socialism," *The People* (N. Y., 2-18-1900), has no good word at all for Christianity. We quote:

"How has the ruling class established this control over its members and its slaves? In three ways—through religion; through public opinion; and through the law, with its judges and soldiers.

"Religion is perhaps the most powerful of these means of maintaining class society by inducing the members of the subject class to act contrary to their own interests and in accordance with that of their masters. And Christianity, the religion of the most progressive part of the human family, is the most effective of all. It has operated primarily by the offer of rewards in heaven and the threat of punishment in hell. The lesson has been so well taught that, even where the belief in heaven and hell is gone, the old moral feelings connected with it survive for a long time."

In his *Religion of Socialism*, Ernest Belfort Bax has evolved so far into the vacuum of socialist negation as to blaspheme without emotion. Being conscious neither of the necessity for a First Cause, nor a Final Destiny, Bax has inherited the mantle of "our philosopher," so to his comrades in intellectual folly his voluminous words make wisdom herself.

"It is sometimes said that socialism is neither religious nor irreligious. This does not or should not mean that socialism fails to come into contact with the views of the world and of life which the current religions furnish, or that at a particular stage in its progress it may not take up a position even of active hostility to those religions. What it means is that socialism implies a state of society out and away beyond the barren speculative polemics of the hour.

"In what sense socialism is not religious will be now clear. It utterly despises the 'other world' with all its stage properties—that is, the present objects of religion. . . . The socialist whose social creed is his only religion requires no travesty of Christian rites to aid him in keeping his ideal before him."

All this should be enough, but yet we give more that socialists themselves may prove that their "social creed" dis-

misses moral responsibility, the tie which harmoniously unites man to man, for the simple reason that it denies individual responsibility to Almighty God.

"All religions the world has ever seen have been imposed for the purpose of preventing the operation of the collective will. They have been mere philosophies of submission, aiming at the subjection of the people. The world has therefore only advanced as the collective will has found halting expression in successive revolutions made against these imposed dogmas, both the church and the state. Thus humanity can hope to advance only as it forsakes all reliance upon any resources outside of the common life. The common life and its common aims, aspirations and efforts must be its own saviour. It makes even now its own heaven and its own hell."—G. D. Herron. (*The Socialist Spirit*, January, 1903.)

The substitution of the "collective will" for the moral law and the "common life" for one's personal obedience to God's will is indeed a very practical effort to shut off the thought of the day that shall come with its final "well done" or "depart ye." No doubt, an intellectual "boose" is the nearest state to oblivion which a cultivated man may commonly employ to ease off a gnawing remorse. Yet, even so, there shall be sober moments.

The Hon. James F. Carey of Haverhill, in a speech before the Channing Club of Boston, said:

"Not all the hypocrisy of the pulpit . . . can possibly destroy the rock upon which we of the despised working class build up our philosophy. It (socialism) is our only hope, and without that hope no promise of heaven, no fear of hell, can cause us to have any interest in life."

And what is that rock? "Economic determinism"—that force called progress, which begins with the troglodyte, and ends—with the devil.

Mr. Carey is a man who finds it quite compatible, with his socialist mind, at once, to endorse in his official capacity and to deny in his individual utterances Bebel's *Woman*, this course makes for *progress* in Massachusetts.

Yet greater men, by example, teach a vicious standard of morality. Liebknecht can take an oath before God to serve the Fatherland and give his pledge that:

"Socialism must conquer the stupidity of the masses in so far as this stupidity reveals itself in religious forms and dogmas."

Kindly keep in mind that it is Liebknecht who speaks as reported by *The People* (Jan. 19, 1901):

"I swear before God, of being unfalteringly loyal to the constitution; to serve, according to my conscience, by my propositions and my votes, the inseparable interests of the King and the Fatherland. So help me God."

"There were, comrades, at that time, 'purists,' 'uncompromising' men, who accused Liebknecht of having failed towards the social democracy by taking an oath for the purpose of filling a seat in the landtag. Whereupon Liebknecht, the admirable revolutionist, answered well: 'What of it? We would be eternally the dupes of the ruling class, if all they had to do was to throw across our path the paper obstacle of the formula of an oath.'"

In France political atheism advances by the same false methods. Jean Jaures, defending Liebknecht, pleads his own case:

"And I, in turn, ask: When a crime is made out of a socialist cabinet minister's having accepted what I shall call the ministerial formality of seeming solidarity with his colleagues in the cabinet, is that formality more humiliating than was, for the revolutionary socialists of Germany, the oath taken 'before God' to remain loyal to the king?

"I ask you whether we also should allow ourselves to be arrested in our course by those obstacles of paper, before those bureau formalities, and whether we shall hesitate, when our Cause needs it, to throw one of our own into the fortress of a hostile Government? ('No! No!')". (*The People*, Jan. 12, 1901.)

Since this time as everybody knows socialism in France has made great strides in its "Cause" by robbing the Catholic Church of all her property. While from the statistics published annually, those of 1909 announce that crime is rapidly on the increase among youths between the ages of seven and twenty years. Yet, the report gives surer proof that the "Cause" is progressing in France. We quote from *America* (Dec. 3-1910):

"As regards children under seven years the figures given do not furnish a complete idea of the prevalence of evil doings."

If it were not that socialism is the cause, hissing the name of God a means, and baby criminals an effect, we shall gladly rest this division here, but yet cumulative testimony shall be given from England, by Frederick Engels:

"English socialism affords the most pronounced expression of the prevailing absence of religion among the working-men, an expression so pronounced indeed that the mass of working-men, being unconsciously and merely practically irreligious, often draw back before it; but here, too, necessity will force the working-men to abandon the remnants of a belief which, as they will more and more clearly perceive—serves only to make them weak and resigned to their fate." ("Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," page 237.)

Possibly this from James Leatham will convince some one of the fact that there is no room for God in the socialist movement:

"No exercise of faith is required for belief in the event of socialism; for socialism is admitted to be inevitable, even by those who abhor it and dread its coming.

"But faith, properly so called, is dead. The belief in God, with all it implies, is now without a *raison d'être*. The original conception of God has everywhere been that of a Creator, a great Master Workman, of the Universe, who made it and who sustains it. But the idea of creation is now given up. The conception of a universe beginning to be out of nothing is found, even by Roman Catholic theologians, to be unthinkable, and they now speak of God and the Universe as 'co-existent eternities.' This is certainly giving away the idea of God as the Creator.

"Nor is the conception of God the Sustainer any longer an intellectual necessity, as it was when men could not account for the phenomena of Nature in terms of the Natural. . . . There is nothing left for Deity to do." ("Socialism and Character," "A contribution towards a system of applied ethics." 1899. Preface.)

Of course this is sheer impudence, for every man who reads may know that the Catholic Church has not changed Her doctrine one jot or one tittle during all the centuries of her life. And, too, it were sheer ignorance not to discriminate between truths which change not and the discipline of the Church which has changed and may be changed. Not to recognize that the incidental phenomena is one thing and that the active principle which runs through that phenomena is quite distinct from it, were as lacking in right cognition as not to recognize one's own self from the changing phenomena of every-day existence.

Moreover to set up fatalistic belief, as a matter of scientific fore-sight, in opposition to Christian faith were to fly in the face of reason and of experience. First because all whatsoever of genuine science thus far discovered is heartily accept-

able to Christian dogma and to Christian civilization. Secondly because all the heresies thus far hatched have beaten their wings in vain against the Vatican walls. One by one and dozens all together they shall vex themselves to death for want of coherence with Truth, while Deity will do what God has ever done—go a long way out to meet the repentant sinner. We would that this book shall aid in turning many back again to be guided along right paths, for “His own name’s sake.”

Truly, nothing much is left for Deity to do with men of perverse will, save He give them miraculous help; but there is much to be done in order to show misled men that nothing but ignorance and ill-will lies behind the stupendous assumption that there is no *raison d’être* for faith in God’s love for and His goodness to us. Much to be done to prove to the masses who are unjustly and unmercifully dealt with that not even “heaven below” shall come by the power of political atheism.

“Religion is a fantastic degradation of human nature.” (Karl Marx.)

“We wish in politics the republic, in economy socialism, and in religion athesim.” (August Bebel.)

The following from the organ of the German socialists, is brutally frank enough to show what the socialist intent is:

“The socialistic state will never be realized except by a violent revolution, and it is our duty to spread this conviction through all classes . . . Christianity is the greatest enemy of socialism. When God is expelled from human brains, what is called the Divine Grace will at the same time be banished; and when the heaven above appears nothing more than an immense falsehood, men will seek to create for themselves a heaven below.” (“Sozial Demokrat,” vol. i, page 310. Encyclopedia of Social Reforms, 1st edition, William D. P. Bliss, page 896-897.)

Is all this for or against religion? Has it nothing to do with religion? As a matter of fact socialists do all they can do, all they dare do, against religion. For if they serve their “Cause” they shall necessarily assault Christian standards and practices. Hence it is that concessions to religious sentiment can have no meaning save as soothing syrup to the embryonic socialist mind.

New comers talk big of what they know little. It is often said that the supreme test of socialist belief is his demand for

the complete overthrow of the present wage-system and the substitution therefor of the co-operative commonwealth, that you may be a Protestant, a Catholic, or of no religion at all but if you believe in this you are a socialist. But Leo XIII has declared that a man cannot be a Catholic and a socialist. Neither can a Protestant or a Jew remain true to his belief in God and God's revelation and propagate the economics of socialism, because the theory of surplus-value rests upon atheism as its "scientific" ground floor. Hence the signed editorial in *Justice* (London, Eng., 9-30-1909), puts the whole issue to the touchstone of common sense, in popular phrase. We quote:

"Roman Catholics, I gladly recognize, have become very good socialists, but only on the condition of becoming very bad Catholics."

We say advisedly the touchstone of common sense, for if one believes himself to be at once a Christian and a socialist he should learn better by the study of socialist classics. "Our philosopher" states the case too plainly to miscarry its meaning. We quote:

"But where man becomes *conscious* of his task, when he recognizes in himself the absolute organizer, there the place of the religious conception is taken by the *anti-religious social-democracy*." (p. 121.)

"Even among our comrades . . . They say: Christ was the first socialist. Yet socialism and Christianity differ from each other as the day does from the night. Indeed, all religion is servile, but Christianity is the most servile of the servile." (P. 122, "Philosophical Essays," Joseph Dietzgen, Chicago 1906.)

Ah, just so! When the abstract man—that thing which has no place on earth—recognizes himself, it will be the signal, no doubt, for the pig to recognize himself, and then as Carlyle sagely observes, the pig shall cease to be a pig. So also when man shall have recognized himself as the "absolute organizer," he shall be no longer the human being that existed, so it shall make but little difference to men whether Dietzgen gives the place once taken by the religious concept to the pig that was, or to some other animal that shall make

"—the progress or development of religion consists in its gradual dissolution." (Page 118.)

With man no man, with religion dissolved, it shall be a matter of indifference that Dietzgen *et al* give positive assurance that not alone the religious instinct is made to quit its seat, but that common sense must also get off its base to make a pedestal for the socialist creed.

In a lecture given throughout the country, Franklin H. Wentworth, ex-minister and sometime editor of the *Socialist Spirit*, hangs one hour of oratory upon two absurdities, to wit:

"Organized society is a huge conspiracy against manhood," and "Truth needs no institutions."

When with a fetching gesture Mr. Wentworth flings both Church and State out to the dogs, a multitude of "sweat-night-caps," modern variety, greet the roof of Paine Hall in honor of the fell occasion.

Of course an abstract man may get on very well with no institutions, truthful or otherwise. But good old Democracy wants a body, a state to do its work just as good old human nature wants each man his living temple to dwell therein. It is true that democracy is a principle which is embodied within the breasts of men; does it follow that democracy "needs no institutions" within which men are democratically related to one another? Certainly not! Democracy finds an embodiment in the civil structure of the American people. How highly perfected within the nation shall be the principle of democracy? Just as high as the flame of democracy burns in the breast of the American people, just so highly will the government of the United States demonstrate democracy. Fancy democracy without an institution through which its quality may become operative? Just fancy democracy without democracy?

To do so, one must fancy that which does not exist in fancy. Just fancy one's fancying that which he cannot fancy. Good nonsense this, but not good sense which these ministerial socialists talk, who would retain religion but demolish the institutions of religion. To attempt to separate religion from the Church is mere intellectual tomfoolery.

"You are gentlemen of brave mettle; you
Would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she
Would continue in it five weeks without
Changing." (*The Tempest*.)

So a change from nonsense to more nonsense is the strenuous occupation which engages the whole attention of the philosophical gentlemen of the Herron school of ex-ministers, who adorn the socialist rostrum. Oh, no the religious instinct should not be eradicated from the human heart; it should be left un-Churched to perish. The Church militant should be stripped and beaten; it should be crucified and shut up in the tomb, out of sight. Certainly, these "after-christian" Pagan professors are thoroughly opposed to the use of the socialist platform for religious propaganda. Dr. George D. Herron himself has most effusively rolled up his sleeves and taken off his intellectual coat to insist that the socialist platform shall ever be used for just what it was intended—an unrelenting assault upon the Christian Church. For it is just as it ever was, not the mob that is in the lead, but the intellectually degenerate who egg on the fury of the people against they know what—against the only power on earth that can save them from the hireling whose own they are not. We quote:

"The worship and joy of life, which is our inheritance from the Pagans, is still with us in spite of the Puritan and the monk.

"With Christianity we have, as socialists, a different problem to face. It is the system of Christianity that we have with us, and the spirit of Jesus that is hid and bound; and the spirit of Jesus cannot escape until Christianity is destroyed. There could be no greater antithesis, no deeper gulf, than that between Jesus and the Christian system. And nothing so surely as Christianity stands for all that is worse in capitalism; for all that is weak and mean in the human spirit; for all that represents the basest and most puerile modes of gaining power. There is no such force making for the destruction of spiritual integrity and courage, and for the unmaning and deceiving of the race, as the system or religion which so monstrously bears Christ's name, and so characteristically misrepresents him. Among no class of men is there so beggarly a conception of what it means to tell or be the truth, as among the official classes of religion; and among no other class is there so parasitical a servility. This has always been so, and it will continue to be so as long as there is an official religious class. It is in the nature of things that it should be so; for organized religion is always the economic dependent of the ruling class.

"Christianity is a huge and ghastly parasite, consuming billions of treasure out of the labor and the patience of the people, and is supremely interested in keeping the people in economic and spiritual subjection to capitalism. The spiritual deliverance of the race depend on its escape from this parasite. The world must be saved from its salvations.

"But soon the church will have no sources of power within itself. It will discover that capitalism cannot save it, since capitalism cannot save itself, and will then seek to fasten itself upon the socialist movement—not for the sake of socialism, but for the sake of ecclesiasticism, or the religious system. With these approaches of Christianity the socialist revolution should have nothing to do. To Christianize socialism would be to destroy it, and to perpetuate a capitalized and decadent Christianity. Every attempt of the church to serve socialism will be for the sake of self-preservation, and not for the sake of the socialist cause, just as churches are established in working-class quarters of the city to *reach the masses*, not for the sake of helping them to freedom and justice, but for the sake of exploiting them as spiritual property for the church."

This red hot rebellion against the authority of the Living God was published in *Wilshire's*, in *The Advance*, and in *The Worker*, Nov. 10-1901. There has been no abatement in the expression of like opinion, and yet as inconsistency is the only jewel which the promoters of the revolution have in their casket, while the "learned" from Marx to Lewis are inveighing against religion—some "scientifically" and others "philosophically," the carttail orators are officially instructed otherwise:

"The following suggestions for the guidance of our speakers were adopted after an afternoon of thorough discussions.

2. Do not antagonize the followers of any religious belief or the members of any race or sect.

3. Do not advocate nor oppose Christianity, Christian Science, Judaism, or Free Thought." (*The Call*, 7-24-1910.)

However, this not the highest lustre of their one jewel, that has been rubbed up recently, since their political setback in Milwaukee. It is insisted that up to now the socialist propaganda has never—oh, no! never!! attacked religion, but now "since the Catholic Church has become a 'political party' in Milwaukee, it shall take all that is coming to it." They will be good, very, very good, but they will not turn the other cheek for:

"Most of those taking part in the discussion were of the same mind, i. e., not to fight the church, and not to mind if they throw stones at us, but if they strike us with one, then pick it up and throw it back and strike them." (*The Call*, 4-5-1911.)

So while words have not lost their wonted meaning, it is certain that men holding an irresponsible philosophy do

take base and puerile modes of gaining votes. More's the pity, socialists do live what they believe. Because the economic "science" lying back as the mainspring of party action will permit of no concept of truth, to be followed in the person of our Lord, these politicians can have but a crooked conception of what truth demands in the practical relations between man and man. So also, in obedience to the natural law that those who have been the highest, fall the lowest when they fall, the ministerial socialists failing to revamp their churches into socialist organizations, with the materialist conception of history as the basis of faith (if faith it may be called) immediately mount a high horse and assume the position of infallible interpreters of religious law. It was one time the hope of the writer that religious men would enter the socialist movement and thus add to it the quality it so greatly stood in need of—but we confess our error. In the first place religious qualities cannot be grafted upon this atheistic trunk. In the second place the use of religious phraseology, indulged in freely by the ex-ministers, but pushes true religious emotions further into the slush and slime of materialism. One has but to read Dr. Herron's publications while he was yet a minister of the Congregational Church, and compare them with his recent works, from which the effusions quoted in this book are taken, to behold a rapid degeneracy in the quality of his work. This intellectual decay is common to men of religious training—once parted from their religious moorings they drift into the irrational method of argument native to the atheist.

Worldly ambition is surely not a virtue in religious circles, but ambition founded upon pride and lust puts men into the full view of the public eye as leaders of the Socialist Party.

We do not hesitate to say that the minister who shall be misled into the socialist movement, believing it to be the one modern avenue through which the condition of the working class may be bettered shall sooner or later bring down upon himself the wrath of the "class-conscious" socialists unless he shall quickly forsake God and permit himself to be groomed for the third degree in materialist monism.

Without exception, every one of the ministers who have entered the Socialist Party have adopted the philosophy of

"economic determinism" and have enforced its materialistic teachings with the prestige of their former religious standing; or they have left the party wiser if not better men.

Socialists have little use for religious teachers; they have times without number declared them to be "hypocrites" and "humbugs."

J. Bruce Glasier, a prominent socialist of Great Britain, says:

" . . . In fact, frankly speaking, I don't want clergymen to become socialists—at least to any great extent. They serve the cause admirably as enemies—they would spoil it as friends. Wherever two or three clergymen are gathered together, there, surely, are hypocrisy and humbug in the midst of them! The blacker the hosts of the enemy becomes with clerical coats, the nearer and the easier will our victory be." ("Men who are Socialists," "The Commonweal," Vol. 4, No. 139.)

Mr. Glasier's speech is mildness itself in comparison to the utterances of the Herronistic school of ex-ministers. Though, perhaps, Prof. Herron's disciple, the once Rev. William Thurston Brown, having so outdone his sometime "lily white" master that it may be said the leading atheist honors now belong to the former pastor of the Plymouth Church, Rochester, N. Y. At any rate, Mr. Brown is a favorite socialist sermonizer. We quote:

"The truth is, as all thinking men are aware, we have no such thing as intellectual honesty in the sphere of religion. We have made religion a department of human thought and action in which moral principles do not figure. We have not even succeeded in getting a conception of God that has any moral quality. The deity men pray to and exhibit in theological systems is not a moral being. He does not act in accord with immutable principles, but at his own caprice or to meet unforeseen emergencies.

"Ethics has nothing to do with the Christianity of to-day.

"It is intellectual dishonesty which seems to me altogether the most dangerous and menacing form of dishonesty prevalent in the world. And if any other country can excell our own in this respect, I could not on short notice name the country. I may be wrong, but after considerable observation it seems to me we hardly know the meaning of intellectual honesty in this country. At least, I doubt very much if the Christian Church has any knowledge of it. And I know no reason why it should have. Unless I am seriously mistaken, we have branded as infidels and atheists about the only persons who have begun to cultivate the virtue of intellectual honesty." (*Socialist Spirit*, June 1902.)

We think this is strong color in proof that socialism is a menace to religion; that infidels and atheists are in control of the party propaganda. Don't you? Though Mr. Brown has yet a more lurid red on his political brush:

"If ever in the history of the world any human institution was completely and finally discredited, it is the religious institution, whose putrid and decaying carcass here at the beginning of the twentieth century menaces the life of men.

"Never in all the past did the religious institution seem more impotent or despicable than now. Scientific research dissipated—as the meridian sun dissipates vapor—the whole philosophy upon which accepted religion is made to rest. And he who would enter its ministry must first of all envisage in his imagination a non-existent and impossible world, in order to become the mouthpiece of its message of fear to minds still steeped in ignorance and superstition. It stands before the world as a foe to research, an enemy of freedom of thinking, a purveyor of baseless superstitions, a morally impotent and an ethically monstrous factor in human society. The fearful hypocrisy to which we have come has been recently disclosed, not only in the moral obliquity of missionaries abroad and ministers at home, but far more in the spirit of unconcern with which the majority of our religionists treat the exposure made by our greatest satirist, Mark Twain.

"What does the church offer? With what would it satisfy this new soul-hunger, too deep for words? With a baseless superstition about heaven and hell. With a lot of dry-as-dust dogmas. With creeds and rites, with manufactured sins and fictitious virtues. With a dualism that is destructive of all truth and sincerity. With a separation of life into 'sacred' and 'secular'—as if life could be divided! As if it were not the supreme sacrilege thus to cleave asunder the divine unity of life!" (*The Social Crusader*, and *The Advance*, July 20, 1901.)

Being drunk with the blood of anti-religion, both the socialist minister and the satirist (Poor Mark Twain! heaven and hell are realities to him now), having the same old, not a "new" soul-hunger, see life's problems not in rational relation, but in monstrous proportion. For it is the creed of infidels and atheists—the creed of the Socialist Party—that calls for the abandonment of reason. The zeal of these gentlemen in the service of the devil has without doubt a self-deceived sincerity in it. So must it be with the pitch-black mind when the light of faith is dead and the blaze of pride is furious. The plain truths of history have been forgotten, or mayhap, never read aright. For the simple story of history is that

Christianity has ever been the grand patron of the sciences and of the arts.

Of course, we do not mean to slight off the fact that a false science has taken up its determined abode in the minds of men who have at their command good English and the magazines, nor do we mean to ignore the still more deplorable fact that newspaper science is persuading the masses that Godlessness is the first step towards knowledge—towards economic emancipation; in a word, towards the realization of an ideal state, the details of which lie hazily in the offing. This book is meant to show that socialism is a false light, which lures men to their moral destruction, and the state to its economic disaster.

If religion "calls for the abandonment of reason," how is it that Bacon, Magnus, Gerbert, Copernicus, Cusa, Becquerel, Kepler, Linne, Fontenelle, Galileo, Faraday, Descartes, Galvani, Newton, Ampère, Boscovich, Volta, Pastuer were men of science? They were religious men? Oxford and Cambridge, Aberdeen and St. Andrews, Upsala and Copenhagen, Paris, Toulouse and Montpellier, Freiberg, Leipsic, Heidelberg, Tübingen, Wurzburg, Cracow, Prague, Vienna, Bologna, Naples, Pisa, Turin, Rome, Salamanca, Seville, Valladolid, Coimbra, Louvain are celebrated seats of learning, established during the middle ages by the Church and its religious upholders. Were these places established "for the abandonment of reason?"

Just the opposite! Rather is the abandonment of reason the usual experience with these ministers of good intentions, and that little learning which is so dangerous a thing, for once God, myself, and then all things else, cease to be the acknowledged order of all mental processes then, human reason is no more in its rightful place. Under the rush of socialist psychology, these minds swinging too near the revolving theory of economic determinism, are caught just as the long hair of an operative is sometimes caught in the big wheel of the machinery. Though in the one case the scalp gives way, but in the other death, moral death, is almost certain. For once the acceptance of the idea that the human race has merely an animal origin, takes a fast grip upon the imagination the mind perverts every thought it touches; and sooner than later per-

verse thoughts are translated into perverse deeds, together with a self-satisfaction which increases at that rate with which Faith and reason are abandoned for animalism and fatalism.

In "How I Became a Socialist," the Reverend William Thurston Brown gives the common experience of the cultivated, but superficially educated persons experience upon the acceptance of the socialist creed. We quote:

"Finally, contemplation of the problem of social justice led to a new reading of history, a new look at life. And the conviction steadily took shape in my mind that my whole philosophy as to the paramount influence of the individual in determining human institutions and social conditions, was wrong. Reading, experience and reflection forced me to the philosophy of economic determinism, and I could not name a document of equal length which seems to me to contain so much truth as the 'Communist Manifesto' of Marx and Engels.

"Of course, the acceptance of the idea of an animal origin of the human race and the main conclusions of materialistic evolution involved a complete reconstruction of my thought world. I thus saw history to be an upward struggle out of animalism toward a goal which no man is capable of naming." (*Comrade*, New York, May, 1903.)

Mr. Brown is quite mistaken, animalism shall rise no higher than animalism. But because animalism is not the author of man this perverse notion will carry man not up, nor down to the wholesome non-moral estate of the brute, but rather into the festering and putrid jaws of corruption from which one may go further on into hell. Or one may escape by the one sure road of repentance. If one shall humble himself before God and his fellow-man; forsaking his pride, he may return to the consciousness that God creates everything but evil,—man of himself having the power to do that.

However, it was but recently (1910) that Mr. Brown resigned from the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City, that he might carry his accumulated perversity of understanding (sic) into deeds.

In his farewell sermon, Mr. Brown states clearly his socialist creed, and there is, of course, no room for God therein:

"Within the past sixty years the world has gained the greatest clue to knowledge that all the ages of human history record: the law of evolution as the mode of creation and the explanation of life. The human

mind has never before grasped a principle that so completely explains the meaning of the world and life as that principle does. Until that law was discovered, mankind was at sea as to the real meaning of the world and of life." (*The Call*, 8-21-1910.)

Oh! the pity of it. To be blind and to lead the blind into the pit! What could be the sense in going on forever and ever *towards a goal* which no man is capable of naming?

How shall one understand the process unless one knows *what* is proceeding?

How shall one understand man unless he himself is made the subject of study?

How shall one study himself unless he studies his origin and his destiny?

Studying his origin and his destiny, one is led to the First Cause and to the Final End—God. While the study of one's own evolution shall show him how economically or how viciously one is using his several talents and powers in consciously building up his life phenomena to its mortal conclusion. Thus is one's evolutionary phenomena the external evidence of his internal character development. It could not be read aright, save he, the object, to which his evolutionary development merely testifies, be known. Such is a simple and natural explanation which right reason gives of man's existence here on earth. But we are not left with only our reason operating upon a foundation of the natural cognition of ourselves. There is super-added the Christian revelation. It is evident that Mr. Brown has never thought it worth while to put himself under the instruction of the Vicar of Christ.

It is certain that over against the natural intelligence of the human mind and the illumination of Christian Faith the everlasting running after something one shall never even hope to get, should not suffice to *completely explain* the meaning of the "world and life" to a right-bright mind.

Yet it is certain that there is heroic blood running in Mr. Brown's veins. He is, without doubt, ready to wreck his life, as his friends judge, to carry out his purpose. And what might that non-conscious malice be? Surely, the crystalization of his perverse philosophy into a counterpart of perverse deeds. Mr. William Thurston Brown announces in *The Call* (8-21-1910)

that the sure key to all "our problems" is the establishment of the Ferrer—the Modern—Schools in America. We quote:

"Francisco Ferrer, the Spanish educator and martyr, saw clearly that the only way to justice and freedom for the people of Spain is through popular knowledge. Ignorant Spain must remain enslaved Spain. . . .

"To a church that lives by superstition and a state based on ignorance and exploitation, the Modern School was a capital crime, and its founder was shot.

"The problems of America are as critical for America as those of Spain for Spain. At bottom they are the same."

Indeed, for the Modern School the problem is everywhere this, and none other, the uprooting of Christian education, so in the Northwest a school of four departments, with a graduated course of study is proposed to give the "facts of science" to pupils from the primary to the adult class, that shall have a false interpretation of human phenomena and no adequate cause of human life as its foundation stone.

Yet, though *evolution* does not and cannot find a place to begin, for the simple reason that it is itself nothing but process, even the Ferrer schools are not so daft as to try to start without something to begin with and some place to begin. So quite arbitrarily this *key* to nothing is to begin with the planetary and stellar universe. Thence to ("a sense of the place of the individual life in the moral process") which, in right reason, without God, is neither here nor there. From this nowhere with a hop and a skip the school lands right plum on the problems of the twentieth century.

Following this most marvellous exploit, there is listed the authors who shall well prepare socialist minds, not for the key itself, oh, no, but for what is unlocked by the use of the key. Namely, practical anarchy as applied to industry. Not merely to commercial life, but to the household industries which make up the home life as well. This list is truly instructive, for there should be no denying that socialist educators (sic) know their own in the realm of literature. We quote:

"The Literature and Modern Drama Club meeting once a week at 1260 East 5th South, will study the writings of the leading modern thinkers such as Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Ibsen, Shaw, Maeterlinch, Wells, Anatole France, Brieux and others."

Under History, the Philosophy of History and Economics, no name is listed not strictly belonging to the socialist school.

Surely political atheism should be unable to draw a multitude of recruits from a populace educated in the Christian religion, but to launch the socialist régime a multitude of atheist votes are necessary. There is no denying that the key to the situation which shall preserve or degrade this nation, is the education of the children, for the battle now begun will at least wear out a generation.

In this sad confession of his down-fall to the groveling level of humanism, Mr. Brown's experience is but typical of hundreds of others, who being very superficially instructed in that Master of science—Theology—fall an easy prey to their own desire to be of service to the downtrodden in a wicked world. The one key to this *disaster* is the service of man for the love of God, nothing of less worth will suffice. So, one shall one day receive his commission by the authority of God.

In support of the fact that the socialist leaders, from Karl Marx and Engels down to the clerical collar socialists of to-day, have all attacked religion, look at this from *The Daily People*, Friday, June 5, 1903 (official organ of the Socialist Labor Party):

"It is high time that we socialists dropped our timidity about attacking those priests and ministers who, under the guise of religion, and wrapped in its sacred folds, so underhandedly attack and falsely represent socialism.

"The working people are rapidly becoming aware of the fact that the Church of to-day is the same as it has always been— a stumbling block and bar to progress and civilization. It makes no difference what its creed may be, whether it be Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, Episcopalian or any other kind of creed, they all stand united as defenders of capitalism."

The People should never have charged itself with timidity, for it is bold beyond conscience, it should rather convict itself with duplicity. It is a master in that double dealing by which the unwary man of little faith is engulfed in the psychology of socialist atmosphere to his undoing.

Though as we have said, it is our chief purpose here to get down the testimony in proof of the fact that the socialist

creed is being worked out into the warp and woof of our everyday life by means of a political party; that the Socialist Party is not in truth concerned with issues of government, rather that this creed is practically gnawing away at the vitals of our nation and straining against the permanency of the family, and this for the one sufficient reason that the socialist creed is utterly Godless. We proceed by presenting something from J. Sketchley in "Our Task To-day."

"In every age and in every country the Church and the State have been the great centres of despotism. The Church and the State, the throne and the altar, the priest and the soldier, have ever made war on the people. It is the same to-day. In almost every age efforts have been made to reform the Church, to diminish its power, to free it from corruption. Rivers of blood have been shed, and thousands of martyrs have given up their lives for the purification of the Church. But the Church is still the great engine for enslaving the minds of men, for binding mankind in ignorance and superstition. And the same with the State. For how many generations have not the best of nature's nobles laboured and suffered and died in their endeavours to reform the State. But the State is still supreme. It is still the great centre of despotism, still the seat of centralized tyranny. It still claims unquestioned obedience to its decrees. The State, like the Church, is a relic of barbarism. If we would raise man to dignity, in place of the Church we must have a free and rational system of education. If we would raise man to liberty, in place of the State we must have the free organization of society." ("The Commonwealth," vol. 4, No. 137.)

That is to say reduce civilization to chaos and eradicate from man the consciousness of his Divine origin.

Mr. Sketchley proceeds towards what he conceives to be liberty upon two mortal blunders. First, that the Church should be reformed by diminishing its power. But the Christian Church is and ever shall be absolute in Truth and so in authority. Second, that the state should speak from the altar of God, as its rostrum is not and never was the Christian doctrine. The divine right of kings was set up in defiance of the authority of the Church. If we render unto God what is God's, we shall never render unto Cæsar what belongs to God, though all the while we render unto Cæsar what is Cæsar's.

That the Revolution is the daughter of the Reformation, Mr. Franklin H. Wentworth points out. It is, of course, but

natural that Defiance having taken its departure from Rightful Authority should travel at a break-neck pace. He says:

"Social democracy has unquestionably given the death blow to the church in Germany, and the Pope has but to glance at the city of Berlin to find a justification of all his fears regarding socialism. German philosophy, born out of the Lutheran reformation, began the work which the social democracy has well nigh completed.

"It is not the Catholic Church alone which recognizes in social democracy a foe. The Protestant Church of Germany has been allied to the state since the disfranchisement of the Jesuit societies, hence the socialist leaders make no secret of opposition to the church. To every church in Berlin, in fact throughout Germany, there are half a dozen halls devoted to socialist propaganda. Social democracy finds headway easy against a church long since riddled into shreds by Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Kant and Hegel." (Editorial, "Socialism and the German Church," *The Socialist Spirit*, May, 1902.)

One should give a counter "glance" at the work of the Centre Party in Germany, to go no further, for signs that the Catholics are keenly alive to their responsibilities of defending the Fatherland against the attacks of its atheist philosophers. German revolt against right-reason hardened into the "Communist Manifesto." That the union of "higher criticism" and *economic determinism* is now bearing its vile fruit, Mr. Wentworth's editorial gives evidence.

The "Communist Manifesto" is the fountain source of enthusiasm from which these ex-ministers drink to the dregs the cup which pollutes the human heart and stultifies the human mind. It is so big with self-pride that it will not stop to hear what plain truth has to say,—it will not stop to answer:

"The charges against communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint are not deserving of serious examination." ("Communist Manifesto.")

We shall next present the testimony of five socialist papers: And we kindly ask the public consideration as to whether or not there is truth in the declaration made in the 1908 platform that: The Socialist Party is *not concerned with matters of religious belief*. We quote:

"Now that the Holy (?) Church has come out and declared OPENLY AGAINST SOCIALISM, the socialists MUST, either come out the same way, and declare against and FIGHT the hoary Beast, 'Mother of harlots'—

ROME! or, SHUT UP SHOP! ! !"—Editorial. (*The People's Press*, Chicago, January 10, 1903.)

"For us we fear the enmity of the (Catholic) Church less than its friendship—and this we should say equally of any other church or any other organization accepting the capitalist ideal." (*The Worker*, May 1, 1902.)

"The waves of socialism are washing against the walls of the Vatican, and it is doubtful whether the next Pope will remain in the classic land of Papal tradition or move to some more comfortable place. Unless it retires to one of the poles of the earth, ecclesiastical hierarchy, like all other despotism, will soon be crowded off the earth." (*International Socialist Review*, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 1902.)

"The anti-socialist agitation of the churches thus proves once more that the continued disuse, or misuse, of any faculty finally results in its degeneration. Having taught and believed, or professed to believe, for centuries, certain ideas which are opposed to the plain evidence of our sane senses, the clericals have become victims of their own methods. Having stifled the demands of reason in every possible way, they have finally lost all power of reasoning themselves. As a class, they have dulled the minds of vast masses by their collective efforts. But now, they are falling into the very pit which they have so long dug for others. Instead of advancing with the times, we see them engaged in the mad attempt to fall into the spokes of the whirling wheels of progress, and of grafting mediæval superstitions into the mental life of a society living under fundamentally revolutionized economic conditions." (*The Appeal to Reason*, April 11, 1903.)

"So it is with the churches. Far better is it to have the open hatred and opposition of the Catholic Church, from the Pope down to Father Heiter, than the maudlin sympathy and friendship of some of our would be friends. Let us have the fight; in this case it is a good deal better than the friendship. There has been too much of a tendency in the movement of late to measure socialism by the measure of Christianity; too much attempting to link the two. Let us beware of these attempts! Socialism has nothing to gain from any such alliances; the church must gain at the expense of the socialist movement. The very word socialism embodies an ethical concept infinitely higher than anything that organized religion has ever known. Nothing could well be more dangerous than the no doubt well-meant attempts to prove socialism true by an appeal to religion. Favorable enough to the latter, these attempts are disastrous to the former. It is no business of ours to prove anything of the kind. It is for us to proclaim and defend our own social faith. If that is not in accord with the teachings of the church—well, so much the worse for the church!" (*The Comrade*, New York, April, 1902.)

These five quotations from five socialist papers speak in the self-same tones that, without intermission is ringing out

from the entire socialist press the message of hate and ill-will towards our Christian civilization.

As to whether or not socialism concerns itself with matters of religious belief, surely the answer must be that it greatly concerns itself with religion with the purpose of destroying it from off the face of the earth.

We shall conclude this division of our work with the presentation of data from international socialist authorities, quoting from world-renowned authors. The matter presented must needs show that in spite of its claim of being an economic science, that the socialist movement is at its core neither industrial nor political in character, but *per se* a contention against religious authority sustained by *religious* cravings on its human side. Hence its primary mission is to destroy the Church, that upon the death of its acknowledged rival it may gain complete control over the power of the masses. Right being slain Might shall be dressed in the robes of full authority. Together with the quotations presented for its decision, we desire to ask the American public one further question: Shall socialists be given the political power with which to work damnation?

First and foremost stands the German movement, both from a political and from a literary point of view. Karl Kautsky, editor of *Die Neue Zeitung*, Stuttgart, Germany, author of many socialist books, several of which have been translated into English. Writing on the subject of "Anti-Clericalism and Socialism" in the *Appeal to Reason*, Girard, Kansas, February 21, 1903, he says:

"The capitalist class and the working class cannot fight together against the church. The class interests of the working class demand a plan of action totally different from that of the capitalist class, also in religious matters. The working class occupies a peculiar position among the present social classes. It is a subject class. It rules no other class and cannot elevate itself over any other class in the economic order. When the working class will conquer the political power, it can only abolish all classes and also suppress its own character as a class. It cannot use its political power to put a new ruling class into the place of the present one.

"The working class, therefore, aims at the conquest of the political powers for the purpose of eliminating all instruments or class rule from social life, not with the intention of making them its own. For this

reason it is opposed to the church, which constitutes one of these instruments of class rule.

"But the church does not limit itself to this function. The religion which it professes and teaches still meets the pressing wants of great masses. Being a subject class, whose mental and spiritual liberty is restricted by all other classes, the working class must declare for religious freedom. Without this it would prevent the mass of believers from satisfying their religious cravings, and thus come into contradiction with its own historical mission."

These three paragraphs were, of course, confusing to the mind untrained in socialist thought. To assume that the working class aims at the conquest of the political power for whatsoever reason one must draw upon pure imagination. For the working class aims at no such thing. It is the leaders of the socialist movement who are not and never have been representative of the working class, who aim to control the working class vote with which to work their own will. Which will is confessedly against that of the working class, for as well as Kautsky, the leaders in general know that the Christian religion still meets the pressing wants of the great masses.

Second, Enrico Ferri, Socialist Deputy of the Italian Parliament, editor of *The Avanti*, a socialist daily, Rome, Italy, whom the *International Socialist Review* of Chicago (April, 1903), declares to be the foremost exponent of socialism now living, has this to say in the *Social Democrat* of London, England, on October 15, 1902:

"When one undertakes socialistic propaganda and organization then it follows that human conscience must be opposed to every form of intellectual dictation, and still more to the clerical spirit. But socialists need not engage in a direct anti-clerical propaganda. They are free thinkers, and must, therefore, respect the faith of sincere believers, especially if they are peasants, among whom it is impossible to engage in an anti-clerical propaganda.

"If some of the middle classes carry on an anti-clerical agitation the socialistic party should not stop them. They should rather help them against an assault of reactionary forces."

Two points here should be especially noted, first, that it is the leaders not the workers who map out and intend to carry out the socialist policy. Next, that it is frankly stated that anti-religious propaganda were of no avail amongst the peasants

of Italy. Only when its basic motive is concealed can political atheism make progress amongst the working class.

Third, Henry Quelch, editor of *London Justice*, official weekly newspaper of the Social Democratic Federation of England since 1892, is still (1911) considered the leading editor in the socialist movement of Great Britain. He gives his position in an article entitled Clericalism and the Socialist Attitude Thereto:

(*The Social Democrat*, March 15, 1903.)

"In answer to your letter asking me for my opinion as to the attitude of the Socialist Party towards the Church, I think that the only line to be taken is that of uncompromising hostility.

"The Church is a powerful, crafty, and resourceful enemy. It is, perhaps, a mistake to provoke her, but she can never be the friend of democratic progress, or of the intellectual development of the people and will always be their irreconcilable foe. The more friendly she is the more dangerous she will be.

"As an institution, the Church stands for obscurantism and for reaction. There is no iniquity so vile, no crime, however monstrous, that the Church has not blessed and sanctified if perpetrated in the interests of the rich and powerful.

"The Church is one of the pillars of capitalism, and the true function of the clergy is to chloroform the workers, to make docile wage-slaves of them, patient and contented with their lot in this world while expecting a glorious reward in the next.

"As long as the Church holds the minds of the workers in its grip, there will be little hope of freeing their bodies from capitalist supremacy."

British frankness is refreshing, however dark the ignorance which represents the Church to be exactly the opposite of what Christianity truly is. In his own way Mr. Quelch urges the point that socialism and religion are engaged in an irreconcilable war.

Fourth, we present the testimony of Emile Vandervelde, member of the Chamber of Deputies of Belgium; the acknowledged leader of the socialist movement there. He is the author of books having an international circulation. Writing for the *Le Mouvement Socialiste* and *The Social Democrat* (January, 1903), he says:

"Beaten in Holland, crushed in Belgium, reduced to a minimum in Germany and Austria (we do not speak of England where the question is a different one), the Liberal Party can only continue to exist in Europe

either, as in Spain, by granting the demands of the Church, or, as in France and Italy, by obtaining the support of socialists.

"In France, for instance, we see most of the socialist forces taking part in the struggle, enthusiastically helping the Radical tactics, advocating against the Church the use of violent and vigorous laws, and also attacking virulently all religious ideas. And . . . the anti-Ministerialist Socialist deputies are not the least to urge the Government by vote and by speech when it is violently struggling against the Clerical and Nationalist forces.

"In the end the question to be solved is What is the essential aim of socialism? There is not a socialist who would hesitate to say that it is the emancipation of the workers, the freedom of the proletariat—and by this freedom we mean its complete freedom, the abolition of all slavery in the spiritual sphere as well as in the material sphere.

"Is it not a fact . . . that some of our comrades advocate the union of all workers, and on the other hand act so as to make that union morally impossible? Is it not sad, for example, after a lecture in which we have stated that the socialist party respects all beliefs, to hear comrades . . . begin singing that odious verse of the 'Carmagnole' which I have for my part, never heard but with feeling of disgust:

"Throw Christ in the gutter,
The Virgin in the stable,
And the Pope to the devil."

"I leave them the Pope—for painters of the Middle Age put in hell the monks and popes, but why should socialists be so inconsistent or so ridiculous as to insult the Crucified One—the victim of Pharisees and priests, or to vilify the Virgin—the sublime image of maternal grief? Do they think that these attacks will bring to socialism the workers who are still faithful sons of the Church? And as a general rule do they think that by forbidding processions, by ordering priests not to wear their cassocks, by organizing public dinners on Good Friday, by proposing oppressive laws against Catholics, that they will advance the cause of the Revolution? . . . Can a sincere believer follow the Church's teachings and yet be a socialist? . . . We are bound to admit that both in philosophy and politics there must be war between socialism and the Church."

Vandervelde's feelings of disgust are caused by the assault upon good taste, not because sacred persons have been outraged; because the tactics laid down by the leaders have been violated by the rank and file, not because Good Friday has been desecrated. To make a mock of the Lord God is "odious," not because religion has a claim to defense, but because it retards the advance of the Revolution. This is "sad" but not sacrilegious.

Fifth, Ernest Belfort Bax, whom we have introduced elsewhere, in discussing the issue, makes no pretence that it is the workmen who seek to throw off obedience to religious authority. From *The Religion of Socialism* we take his recorded opinion, delivered in the most highly approved evolutionistic phraseology:

"The religious aspect of our capitalistic civilization is dogmatic Protestantism. . . . The predominantly commercial states of Christendom are the predominantly Protestant ones. . . . The religious creed of the capitalist *bourgeoisie* is dogma, *minus* sacerdotalism. The religious creed of the land-owning aristocracy is sacerdotalism, with a nominal adhesion to dogma. The watchword of one is, an infallible Church; the standard of the other, an infallible Bible. The Romish or High-Anglican squire represents incarnate land, on its religious side; the Baptists haberdasher, incarnate capital, (p. 77.)

"And now we come to the question, What is to be the end of these things?

"Socialism has been well described as a new conception of the world presenting itself in industry as co-operative Communism, in politics as international Republicism, in religion as atheistic Humanism. . . . The establishment of society on a socialistic basis would imply the definitive abandonment of all theological cults, since the notion of a transcendent god or semi-divine prophet is but the counterpart and analogue of the transcendent governing class. So soon as we are rid of the desire of one section of society to enslave another the dogmas of an effete creed will lose their interest. As the religion of slave industry was Paganism; as the religion of serfage was Catholic Christianity, or Sacerdotalism; as the religion of Capitalism is Protestant Christianity or Biblical Dogma; so too the religion of collective and co-operative industry is Humanism, which is only another name for socialism." (P. 81.)

Machine thinking is so delightfully easy, once the intellectual buzz-saw is started humming. It stops neither for truth nor for falsehood, for both have lost all significance in the recorded history of the race and in the facts of our everyday life. Socialist theory is everything—the current mode of production together with theology, which is the latest face of economics reflected in the stagnant pool of dominant opinion, is now close up to a catastrophe. Really, truly, hope-to-die, quite as close as at the time of other masterly predictions which are now some decades past. But as the ghastly mockery of human aspiration—our twentieth century civilization—is rather unlikely to quit quietly, so it is that atheism—humanism—socialism must be excused for blotting it out in blood and fire.

Socialism triumphant shall be almost as easy as thinking, minus the inconvenience of paying tribute to truth, if, ah! if only the working class will be persuaded to abandon Christ.

Sixth, Leon Furnemont, member of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies (*Social Democrat*, August 15, 1903), having quoted other international leaders to the same effect, sets forth political atheism in very plain words:

"Theoretically, no one denies that socialism is an *integral* doctrine, a true *system of the cosmos* having for its aim the *complete* enfranchisement of all human beings. And, moreover, how can we conceive a fraternal and free society with morals of submission and slavery?"

"The present day socialism, which is called scientific in order to distinguish it from the abstract theories of the first reformers, is based on the *materialist* conception of history. Could one imagine a more complete elimination of the absolute, without which no religion is possible?"

"If the direction of civilization is exclusively determined by the forms of economic production, religions themselves only appear as excrescences of a capitalist society, which are destined to disappear with it.

"It is feared that the affirmation of a rationalistic and scientific philosophy would keep away from our organization a certain number of working men who still believe in the faith of their fathers. That is a vain fear; for revolutions, even of a social kind, are always the work of a minority, and the mass only understands afterwards.

"Should we make war on the Church? But against whom should we fight? Should it be against the windmills of the doctrinaires?"

"We must wage an unrelenting war against the Church because she foment civil war among the workers. We must take away from her her control over public education which she uses to corrupt children who would otherwise become socialists.

"We must fight her without weakness, for she is the only power which has dogmas, hierarchies, riches and agents who systematically attack us. We must attack her because her economics, her politics, her ethics are contrary to our ideal.

"We must attack her because she is the only reactionary force which has any strength and which keeps us in voluntary slavery, and that is worst of all, as these Christian workingmen have really lost all idea of trying to become free."

Socialist leaders all testify plainly to the fact that it is not the workmen who demand a régime of atheism, but the "learned," those holding the materialist conception of history, which completely eliminates the absolute, without which religion is impossible.

Seventh, August Bebel, still (1911) the veteran leader of the German movement, has not shown the slightest change in his views since the essay was published in *Vorwaerts* (1901) from which we quote:

"Christianity is the enemy of liberty and of civilization. It has kept mankind in slavery and oppression. The Church and State have always fraternally united to exploit the people. Christianity and socialism are like fire and water."

Not precisely; both fire and water are wholesome, normal elements. Yet the figure is something apt in that fire is a positive element, it stands its ground and it mounts up higher, while water is a negative element, having no shape of its own, it takes the form of what it rests upon. Just as irreligion takes any old shape of blasphemy or corruption, religion has her own thoughts of construction, of truth and beauty. However, as fire dries up water and water puts out fire, the question is, shall we have more or less of Bebel?

Eighth, writing for the *International Socialist Review* (Aug., 1908), Isador Ladoff declares that:

"Religion spells death to socialism, just as socialism to religion. The moment socialism turns into a religion it loses all its vitality, all its progressiveness, it ossifies and turns into a superstition of fanatics, who never forget and never learn anything. Socialism is essentially, although not apparently, a free-thought movement. The thinking socialists are all free thinkers."

Precisely! Free-thinking is necessary to political atheism. For the simplest of reasons the *socialist mind* may, if it be so pleased, think a kicking steer a turtle dove. Free thought is the enemy of right-thinking. For while right-thinking is bound by law as strict as that of the Medes and the Persians, free-thinking is from the requirements of reason, as free as anarchism personified. Sound thought is bound to take note that the content of two is two, whether one shall be considering engines or apples, but free thought may take the bits and insist that the content of two is the content of the engines or the apples. Sound thought is bound to recognize that basic principles never change, however they are applied, but free thought has long since held the flabby notion that there is

nothing but change. Truly it were disastrous to give free-thought the civil powers, for socialist thinking doth make a man mad.

Of course, it was no accident that after the days of '48 the socialists of Germany were amongst the foremost in the Free Thought movement. So it was, that here in this country, that the platform of the Free Thinkers was first offered to socialists, thus affording to them the earliest opportunity to deliver their message to persons of some pretense to culture. To the vivid imagination of those who have inherited the contempt for religious authority, the free thought of the socialist sounds like a blast from the horn of liberty, though it is rather the shout at the last ditch of despair. This revolt against reason following on the heels of the rebellion against religion was voiced clearly by Wilhelm Marr. (In our first edition this quotation was erroneously assigned to Marx):

"We shall do well if we stir hatred and contempt against all existing institutions; we make war against all prevailing ideas of religion, of the state, of country, of patriotism. The idea of God is the keystone of perverted civilization; the true root of civilization; the true root of liberty, of equality, of culture, is atheism."

This was half a century ago, but any Sunday one may hear the self-same trump of the devil sounded at Paine Hall, where socialists are free thinkers and free thinkers are socialists. Atheism, which not long since was made of diseased imagination and vile words, has now clothed itself with forms and records; 4,000 organizations throughout the country demand the suffrages of the working class—the strongest weapon of the state—to overthrow the whole existing social order. One may well say with Ferdinand, "Hell is empty, and all the devils are here."

"Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you go round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, you make him the child of hell twofold more than yourselves."

Has socialism no concern with matters of religious belief, as its platform impudently affirms?

From all the facts, historical and present, we must perforce conclude that the socialist movement is a world-wide

attempt at the disruption of the civilization made by the race under the Providence of God. That it stands for devolution and not for evolution toward the perfection of human affairs. In short, that socialism and anarchism are, after all, cut from one and the same web of cloth. Socialism is the right wing and the more powerful for destruction, in that it seeks the political power as its weapon of disaster rather than the stupid, the more impatient method of personal assault. It is the more dangerous in the same degree that political power is advanced over the strength of individual power.

That the rank and file of the organization as well as the voters generally are wholly misled as to the real import of socialism, we well know. And that hundreds of idealists are engaged in centralizing power in the hands of men who would use it without scruple for a purpose as far as hell is from the heaven of their enthusiasm, we are free to presume. That the Socialist Party is swinging into line the numerous negative hobby horses driven by sir knights of the quill, we know by the flocks of erratic newspapers declaring for socialism which find a nest in our waste basket.

We take upon ourselves the task of making amends as far as we may to our country and to Almighty God for the offences unwittingly committed in working to give power to that philosophy which is now seen clearly to be an abomination—to be the blare of false gods which leadeth to destruction, rather than to that benign light which leadeth into wisdom. It has pleased us to give over all that was necessary to the service of this movement—this seducer of civic virtue—this defamer of God and man—this movement whose light is darkness and whose intellectual and moral darkness grows blacker, and by swift marches. It shall now be our pleasure to give over all that is necessary to the promotion of industrial equities as against this devil with its specious cry of liberty while it develops its mailed fist of social might to crush liberty—this devil who cries for bread and feeds out poison—this devil who denies God and strides toward the temporal throne—this devil who talks of love and breathes the foul taint of lust—this devil who stretches out his arm to grasp the mighty sword of political power in a free land. It shall not be given

him! Though it may seem that Sodom and Gomorrah are preparing anew the way to destruction! First and most easily the rich are corrupting the State for private gain, for pride, for power. Next, the poor are belied into the confidence of ignorance over knowledge; of vice over virtue; of sophistry over philosophy—in short, that the Ruler of the Universe has abandoned His seat of wisdom, of love and of justice and that the working class may set up a new order—with Babel in command.

There need be no wild alarm, but there is need that the grave issue which confronts this nation be probed to its centre and that the service of righteousness be called in to aid in making the adjustments necessary to the growing demands of industrial democracy.

To this end we submit the data herein contained that false lights may not lure honest men to false faiths. That political atheism shall not command the allegiance of patriotic men. Rather obedient to the command of our Lord and our God, we shall render unto Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar.

Free Love.

"Bless ever bless, thy servants, Lord,
Whom thou dost join in sweet accord,
The Bridegroom and the Bride;
In sorrow, sickness, and in health,
In tribulation and in wealth,
Be Thou their Help and Guide."

PERFECT pleasure without alloy is the ideal which passionate love sets up for itself. But that very old Hindoo legend describes the experience common not alone to men in general, but to women, that it is both hard to get on with and without the one loved. When Twashtri had created man he gathered together a million contradictory elements and out of them he made a woman whom he presented to the man. After eight days the man desired to be alone.

"My Lord," he said, "the creature you gave to me poisons my very existence. She babbles unceasingly; she takes all my time; she grumbles at everything and at nothing; and she is always ill."

So Twashtri took the woman away. But at the end of another eight days the man became again uneasy, this time for the want of the woman.

"My Lord," he said, "my life is very solitary since I returned to you this creature."

So Twashtri gave him the woman back again. This time, however, only three days had gone by when the man came once more to the god.

"My Lord," he said, "I do not know how it is but somehow the woman gives me more annoyance than pleasure. I beg of you to take her away."

But Twashtri would not. "Go and do your best," was his command.

"I cannot live with her," cried the man.

"Neither can you live without her," replied the god.

"Woe is me!" mourned the man. "I can neither live with nor without her."

Yet we must live, and live in this valley of tears. So whether one have the light with which to realize the blessings of God's law or not, it is still a demonstrable fact—demonstrable to those who have the power to penetrate into the Great Sea of Light, that God has designed man to lead a life of purity if he would win happiness. If man so wills he may so shape his destiny as to live harmoniously with his helpmeet here on earth, and with his Heavenly Father have the joys of life forever.

God's law clearly requires of man that he shall so take control of this passion as to be its sovereign master, not its slave. So whether one wish it or not man must obey God's commands, or into a sink of iniquity he must fall!

What doth it avail if one get bread and butter with which to fill his belly, if he maintains moral standards that consign him to the pig pens of life?

What happiness for man, even in this short material existence, if the institution of the family be destroyed and the land filled with men and women broken in virtue and in health—crazed with the passions of sex?

The standards of morality were set centuries gone past. We shall either obey them or suffer the tortures of the damned.

"Adam said: This now is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.

"Wherefore a man shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they shall be two in one flesh.

"But to them that are married, not I but the Lord commandeth, that the wife depart not from her husband.

"And if she depart, that she remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband. And let not the husband put away his wife.

"The Pharisees tempting him (Jesus) said: Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?

"Who answering, said to them: Have ye not read, that he who made man from the beginning, *made them male and female?* And he said:

"For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.

"Therefore now they are not two, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

"They say to him: Why then did Moses command to give a bill of divorce, and to put away?

"He saith to them: Because Moses by reason of the hardness of your heart permitted you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so.

"And I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery."

Here we have the simple yet most vital and holy ideal of the relationship of husband and wife. It is God's law that monogamy shall be maintained. One man one wife—one and inseparable.

Socialists, as we have without a shadow of doubt proven, deny the existence of God. Socialists, as we have without question proven, deny revelation. Socialism stands for the political power to the end of abolishing religion. And what is connoted thereby? Why, that all institutions that in turn are supported by the influence and teachings of religion must fall. As marriage is a sacrament, as the family lies at the root of civil society, it shall go by the board together with private property upon the introduction of the collective ownership of capital, which please God shall never take place in this country. This being so, who shall truthfully say that socialists are not opposed to the family? That they are not free-lovers? Doctrinally their leaders never pretend to deny it: tactically double dealing is the very breath of the Beast.

One is not bold to say that the present elevation of the family life is wholly due to the sacred environment in which it has been sustained. Many are the crimes and sins committed within and without the bonds of matrimony. But is that the fault of the God-given standards? Or the discipline of religious institutions which have struggled to maintain them? No! It is the fault (and suffer they do for their own folly) of those who have departed from the standards of religion—of those who have not lived in accord with the ideals which they know to be good in the sight of God.

The work of religion has not yet been accomplished—for it has work to do until the end of time. Yet the periodical attacks of atheism it has withstood has been a stumbling block to its work of upbuilding the race. Religion has survived materialistic attacks in the past—and fear not—this latest political attack, which seeks to break the bonds of matrimony will be repulsed, and the devil will have to take a new tack.

In opening our case [which is to prove that socialism would destroy the sacred institution of the family] let us present the evidence of Professor Herron, who is an able exponent of the philosophy of socialism; and who has somewhat experienced the practice of it—with the full approval of the socialist party. He says:

"Without regard to our liking, socialism is coming; it is manifestly the near stage of historic development. The socialistic road is the opening highway which humanity will next travel, whether we want to or not; and if we have anything to say to the world, or anything to give which we think it ought to have, we shall have to go along and stay with the people to the end of the journey. If it is free land we are after, or a free religion, or a free family, or a wholly free society, we shall only find it at the other side of socialism, or along the socialistic way." (George D. Herron in "The Coming Nation," March 28, 1903.)

Although Dr. Herron has kept his tandem family abroad since this was written, his words are none the less potent now in 1911. For the simple reason that his pronouncements are in exact accord with the fathers of *modern socialism*. Frederick Engels declared that:

"Three great obstacles block the path of social reform—private property, religion and the present form of marriage."

Consequently socialists stand for the abolition of private property; for the abolition of religion; and the abolition of the family.

Of course, every thinking man knows that as Marx says, a revolution is first brought about upon the field of ideas. So it was that Oscar Wilde, who became infamous, after becoming famous, by putting his creed into practice, was a practical factor in debauching the public mind. We quote:

"As for the virtuous poor, one can pity them, of course, but one cannot possibly admire them. They have made private terms with the enemy, and sold their birthright for very bad pottage.

"Socialism annihilates family life. . . . With the abolition of private property, marriage in its present form must disappear. This is part of the program. . . . It converts the abolition of legal restraint into a form of freedom that will help the full development of personality, and make the love of man and woman more wonderful, more beautiful, and more ennobling." ("The Soul of Man Under Socialism." *The Challenge*, "Millionaire Socialist". *Wilshire's Magazine*, June, 1902.)

In commendation of Wilde's work—of his scorn of the virtue of the poor—*Wilshire's Magazine* of April, 1905, has this to say:

"I doubt if it is generally known that some of the best work that has ever been done in English in advocacy of socialism is due to the pen of Oscar Wilde. His 'Soul of Man Under Socialism' is the most directly socialistic of Wilde's essays.

"And Wilde knew his economics of socialism all right. He was not a mere literary sentimentalist."

The revolution of ideas now going on has already conquered more than half the ground in defense of the family, in the opinion of Mr. H. M. Hyndman ("The Historical Basis of Socialism," p. 452):

"Thus breaking down and building up go on slowly together, and new forms arise to displace the old. It is the same with the family. That, in the German-Christian sense of marriage for life and responsibility of the parents for the children born in wedlock, is almost at an end even now, . . . and must result in a widely extended Communism."

In common with all "class-conscious" gentlemen of the quill, Mr. Hyndman aids in creating the proposed "free family"—the *no family*—by his insistence that the idea of parental responsibility is now dying out—almost dead.

Half the vile battle were won once the idea of communal responsibility takes the place of parental authority; and the other half were won once the notion is implanted in the popular mind that: "The reproduction of the race is a social function," as the author of "Woman and Marriage" would make it appear. For those who have not, long since, realized that an atheist minority has fastened its control upon our public school system; and that socialist measures are marching into the curriculum with a stride of the fabled seven-leagued boots, the reading of the Hon. Bird Coler's pamphlet (1911) may well set him right upon the matter. Indeed the revolution in the realm of ideas has already gone so far that the "cuckoo parent" is to be found in no small numbers. So it is but a question of time—of might, for revolutionists work while they wait—when the "scientific breeding" of the race shall have been added to the atheistical education of

children. For parents have no rights which a socialist majority is bound to respect.

If one shall think the affirmation too drastic, that socialism aims at the destruction of the family, the founders and promoters of the movement shall speak for themselves and so correct so weak an opinion. That the "great document"—the "Communist Manifesto"—may be given its due weight by the verdict of its greatest defenders we shall here present an opinion of it by the late Wilhelm Liebknecht, who as member of the German Reichstag, until the time of his death, was the recognized leader of the Socialist Party of Germany. We quote:

"The 'Manifesto' is the work of Marx and Engels. What was supplied by the one, what by the other? An idle question! It is of one mould, and Marx and Engels are one soul—as inseparable in the 'Communist Manifesto' as they remained in their death in all their working and planning, and as they will be to humanity in their works and creations while human beings are living on earth.

"And the credit to have originated this 'Manifesto,' to have provided through it a guide of thought and action, the fundamental principles of doctrine and tactics, for the proletariat—this credit is so colossal that even by dividing it in halves both of them still receive a giant's share.

"If Marx and Engels had never created anything else, if they had been devoured by the revolution, on the eve of which they thundred forth into the world with prophetic vision the 'Manifesto'—they had gained immortality." ("Biographical Memoirs of Karl Marx." Chicago 1901.)

Now "The Communist Manifesto" may speak for itself on the subject in question. We quote:

"Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

"On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians and in public prostitution.

"The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course, when its complement (prostitution) vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

"The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

"Nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be

openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

"Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common, and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, *i. e.*, of prostitution both public and private."

Yes, Liebknecht is dead, but *London Justice* is not. Moreover no voice is so potent in the English tongue as this weekly published in England. We quote from a very late issue, April 8-1911:

"No pamphlet of modern times has had such an influence on the intellectual progress of the world as this, and no socialist laying claim to a scientific knowledge of socialism can afford to be without it."

The "Communist Manifesto" is certainly a past master in the art of shifting the ground for orientation; of muddying the intellectual waters; of playing a game of legerdemain with reason—for now you see it and now you don't.

But careful reading of this quotation will show it to be a somewhat veiled but ferocious attack upon the sacred institution of the family. Were this subject matter to come forth dressed in honest garb, the spots of the leper would be clearly seen. It attacks by innuendo the natural order of human life—the Divine ideal of the family, while it openly declares that the family is founded on property. Once its property origin is set down for scientific "keeps," the lines are laid for hypocritically assuming that while the classes no longer have any sentimentality about the origin of marriage, that it is after all just this very sentimentality which prevents the masses from the realization that marriage is but the mere creature of economic evolution. From this it proceeds with its double and twisted wisdom to the conclusion of an insult that is wholesale. The revolution of ideas is so far advanced that it has taken not theoretical but practical possession of the proletariat, for marriage is practically absent among the working class.

Next we have a desperate sample of the underhanded method of innoculating men with the "socialist mind." Words which carry the quality of disintegration with them—words of immoral import to the emotions of the reader, veiled in analytical phrases, rather than a clear intellectual statement which says what is meant. So it is that right-reason is rocked from its too insecure moorings in the untrained mind, and that saving grace, common sense, is altogether confused by the pretense of scientific insight. That the well-to-do have torn away from the family the sentiment that once surrounded it and that the family relation as a mere money relation should be a reproach, is a strange statement from those who insist that the foundation of the family is private property. Why should it not be a *mere money* relation? The mystery is how the family ever procured its *sentimental veil* to tear away.

"The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation."

What may this mean? except that the sentiment of family purity once sustained by religious faith is once for all, by "economic determinism," torn asunder. That under capitalism the buying and selling of sex sentiment goes on apace? After insisting that community of wives is the mode of to-day—although there is a pretended "virtuous indignation" at the purpose of socialists to establish a system of wives in common, then the real cat comes cautiously out of the bag, "in this greatest document on earth." "For the rest it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, *i. e.*, of prostitution both public and private." That is to say, the selling of one's body is prostitution, likewise marriage is prostitution. What then? Why, verily—under socialism, neither pretense nor family ties whatsoever.

Of course all this could be said simply in a plain, unvarnished tale, but that were not the method by which to make socialist converts. So confusion is raised to pay its regards to decency. Yet now that half a century is passed since Marx and Engels wrote the Manifesto, even confusion is sometimes

abandoned and a vile frankness sets out an argument in favor of the utter abandonment of family life in the interest of *Co-operative Homes*. Writing for the *Times Magazine* (New York, Dec., 1906), Upton Sinclair says:

"The servant is an amateur; she is a person of too low a grade to be made into a professional of any sort, according to our exacting modern standards. She belongs to the outcast class, for which science and civilization do not exist. She is generally a servant because she is not clever enough to be a factory girl, nor attractive enough to be a prostitute."

To further discredit the work necessary to home keeping in favor of the "economic independence" of women, the Rev. Roland D. Sawyer (*New York Call*, July 10, 1910), echoed the Sinclair insult to servant girls and adds more of his own, in favor of the socialist program for breaking up the home. We quote from "The Economic Basis of the Divorce Problem:"

"Housekeeping is the lowest work on the list, and Upton Sinclair has well described the girls engaging in it as those not clever enough for the factory or not attractive enough to become prostitutes.

"Once woman was economically dependent on man: she had to marry and remain married in order to live. Our grandmothers were forced by economic conditions to do domestic drudgery, bear and bury children. But the woman of to-day is not economically dependent on man, she is not driven by fear of destitution into the life she once was, she is not compelled to become married, or to submit to hardship and stay married—and I, for one, thank God she is not."

Shades of our grandmothers! That the fore-knowledge of the vicious propaganda of their degenerate grandsons they had not, we are devoutly thankful. With God dethroned to make place for *economic determinism* it must be supposed that from force of habit the Reverend gentleman uses the word merely as an ejaculation!

However, Evolution—something that must move without being anything itself—may be said to have changed the traglo-dyte into the man, there is no change in the aim of the devil to break down the chastity of the home. Without being exactly aware of it themselves, socialist advocates greatly aid and must greatly please his satanic majesty at this task.

Wilhelm Liebknecht in "Socialism: What it is and what it seeks to accomplish," (Chicago, 1901), shall show that abroad,

as at home, socialist writers first create perverse history and follow its baleful influence up with perverse sentiment, all to one end—socialism triumphant. We quote:

“Thanks to the wrong conditions of society and the state, woman is to-day without rights and in countless cases is condemned to wedded or unwedded prostitution. The intercourse of the sexes is unnatural and immoral—socialism will bring the emancipation of woman as well as of man. It insists on her complete political and social equality and equal position with man. It will destroy prostitution, whether it walk unashamed under the mantle of marriage for wealth or convenience, or whether it runs shameless, painted and naked upon the street.”

But what about that “mantle of marriage” which covers the chaste relationship of father, mother and child?—will socialists kindly meet the issue frankly and answer?

We resent past speech, the imputation that low wages and hard conditions compel working girls to sell their bodies to be burned by lust. The saving truth is that inclination to feed the flesh and to serve the devil makes of poor women and of rich women alike the loathsome opposite of the wives, mothers and sisters whom men and children love and to whom the world pays honor.

It is the fashion in socialist speeches and frequently met with in socialist literature to assume that bread and butter and good clothes are to many, to hosts of women, more coveted than that priceless treasure of the woman's heart, chastity.

We are free to say that such vicious sentiment becoming generally accepted, would be a most potent factor in inducing women to break from the paths of virtue under the pressure of hard economic conditions.

Persons holding sentiments of “easy virtue” either ignore or are incapable of reaching the conviction which lies at the very center of the design of perfect motherhood, that chastity is far more to be prized than gold or lands or rank or even life itself. For what is the life of a woman to herself if stripped of the citadel of her self-sanctity? Therefore do you say that she cannot live without vice—then many a woman under stress answers you back again, so be it, dust and ashes is by far the more preferable!

Do you say that a woman who is pushed beyond the brink of virtue is as good as any man's mother who is virtuous having been protected in the struggle for life? Then out upon such slippery reasoning! For we ask about that other man's mother who for long and stormy days, weeks, months and years brought girls and boys to sweet and sound womanhood and manhood upon a wretched pittance? Can a man with such a mother (and alas, there are so many) consent to such slimy sophistry no matter how vociferously it clamors for a hearing. Certainly not! He knows in his innermost heart that the thought, aye the merest motion towards the corrupt suggestion, is abhorrent.

No, women are not chaste because they are poor and defenseless nor because they are rich and protected. Women are virtuous because they cherish beyond all else the inherent claims of pure womanhood, of pure wifehood, and of pure motherhood upon them. Because there is no happiness outside of sex purity.

Shall the socialist movement become a corrupter of women? I trust not! But it is true that intellectual arguments may for a time confuse her inner sense of purity—may for a little drown her sensibilities to vice, may condone her sex sin by the argument of her frightful poverty. Although direst poverty as a constant condition is as a pleasant May morning to the torments of the damned, yet compared to the awful enslavement caused by sex degradation, this latter falls below all else. To this conscious mental state men are not admitted, for it is to the women of the race that chastity is given for safe keeping. Woman's day of self-reckoning is ever at hand. The bewitching Du Barry was at no time in her career of vice so struck home to the quick as by her own overwhelming self-accusation—"I am a courtesan."

A great responsibility is upon us! Let us not aid in destroying that peace of heart native to all women, by asserting that the misery of poverty is greater than the tragedy of vice. But rather let us appeal to that love of virtue which sits deep in every woman's heart, even though her hunger for food or her wanton flesh may make strong argument to her in favor of a sex servility which is as black as hell. Do not let us add to her temptations by setting up false standards

which declare that virtue and vice alike are conditional upon outward material conditions and interests. Virtue and vice are promoted by man's own will. He alone may say I will or I will not perform this act or that act and thus add strength to his virtue or add strength to his vice. He may by his own volition go up into the purer air of his new and more beautiful earthly estate or go down into the ruins of corrupted temples. Both the nation and the men have their own in their own keeping.

That the nation may renew its life upon the foundations of sounder economic knowledge and refresh its spirit with purer ideals, is the work good citizens have in hand. Let us not then play the opposite, the damnable opposite part by surrounding the working women of our time with intellectual snares. To break in upon womanly virtue, to undermine its foundation with specious arguments and mawkish pity, to despoil her physical body and her mental vision. Shall we not rather set before the hard pressed working girls of our day examples of womanly courage such as is exhibited by Scott's Rebecca? who held at bay her seducer by the determined purpose of dashing herself upon the rocks far below, beneath the window of the tower—that so she might keep her freedom—the freedom of her chastity, knowing it to be the blessed opposite of the enslavement purchased by vice.

To bring this matter to close range, let us put it to you in this brutally frank way: One may hear upon Boston Common or in our brave Cradle of Liberty, Faneuil Hall, socialist speakers dilate upon the low wages (which, it is true, are insufficient to live upon save eked out by the almost incredible genius of thrift) straightway declare it to be impossible for a woman to live upon so low a sum and by direct imputation cover every girl in our great department stores with the shame of prostitution. There runs through the audience a visible effect! High or higher mounts the sympathy for the women who stagger and fall under industrial oppression—low and lower are the sensations thrown off by the crowd when the flesh is stirred with thoughts of immoral conquest.

The false standards that are thus set up bear heavily down upon these women from two opposite directions. On

the one hand if it be the accepted philosophy that economic hardships are sufficient reason for vicious living then surely these girls are not to be held responsible to standards of virtue. Therefore the intellectual arguments are such as to weaken self-effort to live a life of chastity in the teeth of fierce economic temptation. While on the other hand, if it be accepted as correct doctrine that economic pressure is over much for virtue to withstand, what is to prevent men who come under such teaching from assuming the attitude that lust is not so bad a thing after all and consequently these women are, all said and done, their legitimate prey?

Let us ask, is not the acknowledged fact of houses of disorder shame enough to openly put upon modern women? Shall we seek to fasten evil suspicion upon whole classes of our hard-working women and thus lay heavier burdens across their shoulders and shame upon mankind?

Let socialists alone use such monstrous instruments in propagating a doctrine for the destruction of the family, under the guise of advancing the economic interests of the race. But that we should follow their base standard is too much to believe when once its foul face is seen.

We know too well the estimate which women put upon their supreme claim to love and to honor, to accept such conclusions or such methods. We protest with all our soul against such treatment of defenseless women!

We do not mean to leave this chapter without more than sufficient testimony to satisfy the candid mind that free love must perforce be regarded as an integral part of socialist doctrine and as a popular phase of its propaganda, more or less openly treated.

Edward Carpenter, a socialist of renown, whose works are circulated by anarchists, too; the founder of *London Justice*, in his book ("Loves Coming-of-Age," 1903, Chicago), advocates a "free society" in which "free love" will be the rule without "the artificial thunder of the church and the state."

In writing of this book Leonard D. Abbott, a leading socialist of New York, in *The Comrade*, says, "During recent years Carpenter had devoted a great deal of attention to sexual problems, and his book, 'Love's Coming-of-Age,' is as sugges-

tive and notable a treatment of this subject, from the socialist point of view, as has yet appeared in the English language."—Yes, it is indeed suggestive, despite its roseate hue, of the period of Sodom and Gomorrah, in the days before God commanded these vile spots to be wiped from off the face of the earth.

The distinguished men writers are not alone upon this field, for the talented women of the party are quite as ready to endorse "Love's Coming-of-Age," with its suggestive treatment of the family, and to predict a *radical* change in its form. Reviewing this book for *The Socialist Spirit* (Chicago, Nov., 1902), Marion Craig Wentworth says:

"This is a comprehensive and philosophical treatise on sexual science and marriage. Like all of Edward Carpenter's productions, it is written from high ground. There is no doubt that as soon as woman is free politically and economically the marriage relation will undergo a radical change. For a comprehension of the possible lines upon which such changes may be worked out one may well turn to this little book of Mr. Carpenter's. It is a real contribution, and the emancipated should not fail to have it upon their book shelves."

It should be understood that the "emancipated" are the free lovers. Once during our futile attempts to root free love out of the party we were somewhat staggered when Mrs. Wentworth came to the rescue of Mr. Wentworth in his stout defence of free marriage. Indeed, as the gentleman said, his "comrade" was truly his *better half* in the argument against us.

But Mr. Carpenter will speak plainly for himself:

"Here there is no solution except the freedom of woman—which means of course also the freedom of the masses of the people, men and women, and the ceasing altogether of economic slavery. There is no solution which will not include the redemption of the terms 'free woman,' and 'free love' to their true and rightful significance. Let every woman whose heart bleeds for the sufferings of her sex, hasten to declare herself and to constitute herself, as far as she possibly can, a free woman. Let her accept the term with all the odium that belongs to it; let her insist on her right to speak, dress, think, act, and above all to use her sex, as she deems best; let her face the scorn and the ridicule; let her 'lose her own life' if she likes; assured that only so can come deliverance, and that only when the free woman is honored will the prostitute cease to exist." ("Love's Coming-of-Age," Chicago, Ill., 1903, page 62.)

That sex immorality has caused many to suffer the tortures of hell, here and now, is known to the sorrow of sinful men and women, whose faces betray more than one's heart can bear to witness. That the cause of unhappiness is economic; and that the remedy is to be had by breaking the religious, the civic and the conventional sex standards is the common opinion of the authorities on socialism. They have nothing to offer but this—to break the bonds that hold sex emotions from falling to the low tone of lust. More cause for unhappiness is the socialist cure for unhappiness. Having started from an utterly false premise, unless they shall come back to the belief in God, what but utter inconsistency with their doctrine shall prevent socialists from going deeper into falsehood and degradation at every step of advance? Truly nothing, their case is hopeless unless the cure is radical.

As without a belief in God there is nothing left upon which to erect a standard which would sustain sex purity—for if there is no God there is no moral responsibility—no inner consciousness by which one measures his own conduct by the Divine rule. Without God, ideals are left entirely at the mercy of human emotion—of “sex fondness.” Lacking the purifying environment of religion, what is there left to the heart's desire but to satisfy the animal passions. Take away the recognition of God from the human mind and mankind is left without the contrast of light and darkness—without the distance between heaven and hell. If there be no God the socialist denial of free will is logical, and human passion may control the human mind. But women, make no mistake! This abomination of desolation is what socialists offer you as a means of solving the sex question. Do you believe in socialism? Then you are a “free” woman, “insist on your right (without the fear of God) to use your sex as you deem best.”

Being a socialist classic, “Love's Coming-of-Age” is reviewed every little while, to make sure that the book shall be found upon the shelves of the multiplying number of the “emancipated.” We quote from *The International Socialist Review* (May, 1906), also from *The Socialist Review* (New Jersey, Nov. 17, 1906):

“This work is without doubt the most satisfactory work that has thus far appeared on the relations of the sexes under the coming social order, and on rational sex ethics during the period of transition.

"Edward Carpenter has the rare merit of being a poet and man of science in one. He has analyzed the sex-passion in a fashion which is indeed frank, but as clean as it is frank. He has analyzed the historic and economic causes that have produced the opposite characteristics of men and women, and has done it in a way that will help thinking men to understand women better, and thinking women to understand men better. Finally he has reviewed the past history of marriage, as produced by the conditions of primitive communism, slavery, feudalism and capitalism, and then gives a rational forecast of what the relations of the sexes will inevitably be under the equal freedom of the future. And his conclusion is that the tendency will not be from but toward a life-long attachment between one woman and one man who love each other."

One may wonder whether as poet or scientist Mr. Carpenter decides that not God but rather some preponderance of something nobody knows what—perhaps, of nothing, as nobody hints at the something, at some time nobody guesses when, caused the opposite characteristics of men and women.

It is so simple to recognize the fact that men and women are different yet complementary one to the other. And so rational, from the fact that there is no scrap of evidence to the contrary, and from the further fact that all the evidence there is goes to show that mankind has always been divided into male and female, to believe that man and woman created He them. Catholic doctrine is so thoroughly in accord with what science knows on the subject—not of course with what humanists guess, or atheists want to believe—that there is not the least shadow of opposition between science and religion on this point, or on any other, for that matter. Yet one may be excused for the mild surprise that neither as a man of science nor as poet, Mr. Carpenter did not think it worth while to understand what religion has to say with regard to marriage being a sacrament. But as a man of science, surely Mr. Carpenter cannot be excused from learning what logic has to say about that one basic form of the family that is at once the simplest and the purest with which the race can possibly be carried forward. Nor as scientist, can Mr. Carpenter be excused from the recognition that one husband and one wife with their children as the purest—the unmixed—form of the family puts science and religion in perfect harmony as to the monogamic family being the natural foundation of human society. Consequently against the sacramental marriage

of the Christian family science can have no word to say. Hence also what Mr. Carpenter as scientist should see is not a "tendency" towards the life union of one man and one woman, but the established fact—fixed beyond peradventure of all "tendencies"—the fact being the standard.

Though Mr. Carpenter's conclusion as regards this "tendency" of his is at least smilable, as the socialist tendency must then be going in two opposite directions at one and the same time. After all we will forbear, as we recall that it is perhaps as poet that Mr. Carpenter faces in the right direction, while as scientist he faces towards the direct opposite point. Indeed this is the stunt that even those socialists who are not so fortunate as to be poet and scientist in one must perform, for if it does happen that they take a rational attitude towards the tendency of phenomena that direction is necessarily hostile to the fundamental tenets of their creed.

Let us hope that Mr. Carpenter and even some of his reviewers, though hardly the emancipated, shall learn that the Catholic Church because she is Divine—because she knows—has not once changed her dogma that marriage is a sacrament, nor once changed her discipline to accommodate anybody with a "free family," though she has lost whole kingdoms because their monarchs wanted to be emancipated.

Being free moral agents every woman should know that even though she have the power, she has not the right to use her sex against the natural and the supernatural standards of purity.

Endowed with the principle of purity which the voice of conscience in every woman's breast would guard; educated by the teachings of science and religion, every woman's understanding shall tell her that the "freedom" which socialism seeks to foist upon her shall be at the cost of that most priceless treasure of her mind and heart—her honor.

Female honor is a fixed principle, just the opposite of female shame. But as socialism has none such, what is that standard which shall guide the "class-conscious" but the shifting flame of sex emotion.

Do you feel sex passion arise within you? Is that woman attached to you by "sex fondness?" "That is your private

business." The state, the church and "the big policeman above" have no moral right to interfere. Herd together until a new sex attraction sets your passions aflame.

From the immortal bard, not poets alone, should learn to contrast the conduct of virtue with that of lust—all to the honor of the sexes.

"Prospero:

If thou dost break her virgin knot before
All sanctimonious ceremonies may
With full and holy rite be minister'd
No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
To make this contract grow: but barren hate,
Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly
That you shall hate it both: therefore take heed,
As Hymen's lamps shall light you.

Ferdinand:

As I hope

For quite days, fair issue, and long life,
With such love as 't is now, the murkiest den,
The most opportune place, the strong'st suggestion
Our worser genius can, shall never melt
Mine honour into lust; to take away
The edge of that day's celebration,
When I shall think, or Phœbus' steeds are founder'd,
Or night kept chain'd below."

We are not alone in the understanding of the sex doctrine which is put forth by socialism. Its drastic condemnation by the Rev. Fr. Thomas J. Sherman—courageous son of an illustrious father—as reported in the *Chicago Record-Herald* is not overdrawn:

"Socialism in its view of matrimony, reduces the state to the level of a breeding farm. Socialism asks us to vote for the dishonor of our mothers, for the shame of every drop of blood in our bodies. Are we men to permit such a party to rear its political standard in our midst? WHERE IS AMERICAN MANHOOD AND COURAGE, that they do not RISE and DRIVE the advocates of SUCH principles out of the political field?"

And although Father Sherman's expression that this is "hells lowest vomit" is itself disgusting, the phrase without exaggeration fits the case. For not only does "socialism ask

us to vote for the dishonor of our mothers," but it asks us to set up rules for conduct (if the police are not in sight) which would break down the knowledge of morality. This slime is what we are asked to vote for.

No! this calling a spade a spade is not in violation of good taste. We have here to do with mortal issues, and elegance of expression cannot be permitted to limit that virility necessary to the condemnation of the damnable sex influence which socialism exerts, not alone upon this, that and another individual, but also upon the public sentiment, opinion, legislation of the whole civilized world.

The "free family" is not alone taught as a dogma of science and an industrial measure, by the insistence that not the family but the individual is the economic unit of organized society, but also through the medium of fiction it is instilled into the emotions of a large part of the community for which sociological discussion has no interest. So, a much deeper gash is cut in the heart of marital integrity.

William Morris, poet, artist and socialist, gives in "News From Nowhere," a pictorial presentation of the love relationship under the "free" conditions to come in with the socialist society. We quote from this much-prized picture of the great socialist poet:

Said I: "That beautiful girl, is he going to be married to her?"

"Well," said he, "yes, he is. He has been married to her once already and now I should say it is pretty clear that he will be married to her again."

"Indeed," quoth I, wondering what that meant.

"Here is the whole tale . . . they lived together two years the first time; were both very young; and then she got it into her head that she was in love with somebody else. So she left poor Dick; I say *poor* Dick, because he had not found any one else. But it did not last long. . . . Then she came to me and asked me how Dick was. . . . So I saw how the land lay, and said that he was very unhappy, and not at all well; which last at any rate was a lie. There, you can guess the rest. . . ."

"Dear me," said I. "Have they any children?"

"Yes," said he, "two; they are staying with one of my daughters at present where, indeed, Clara has mostly been. I wouldn't lose sight of her, as I felt sure they would come together again; and Dick, who is the best of good fellows, really took the matter to heart. You see, he had no other love to run to, as she had. So I imagined it all; as I have done with such-like matters before."

"Ah," said I, "no doubt you wanted to keep them out of the Divorce Court."

"Then you suppose nonsense," said he. "I know that there used to be such lunatic affairs as divorce-courts . . . we are not so mad as to pile up degradation on that unhappiness by engaging in sordid squabbles about livelihood and position, and the power of tyrannizing over the children who have been the results of love or lust."

Kindly look on this picture and then on this!—then tell the American public for which you vote.

"Queen Katherine:

Have I liv'd thus long—let me speak myself,
 Since virtue finds no friends—a wife, a true one?
 A woman—I dare say without vain-glory—
 Never yet branded with suspicion?
 Have I with all my full affections
 Still met the king? lov'd him next heaven? obey'd him?
 Been, out of fondness, superstitious to him?
 Almost forgot my prayers to content him?
 And am I thus rewarded? 'Tis not well, lords
 Bring me a constant woman to her husband,
 One that ne'er dream'd a joy beyond his pleasure
 And to that woman, when she has done most,
 Yet will I add an honour,—a great patience.

Wolsey:

Madam, you wander from the good we aim at.

Queen Katherine:

My lord, I dare not make myself so guilty,
 To give up willingly that noble title
 Your master wed me to; nothing but death
 Shall e'er divorce my dignities."

Between the two ideals no compromise is possible, so the practical defense of the family must pitch battle against divorce, for the tandem marriages of to-day drive straight on to the free-family where "no such lunatic affairs as divorce courts" shall be known, obviously.

Under the title of "Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome" (Chicago edition, 1909), Morris and Bax, the joint authors, treat the problem of marriage not in the guise of fiction, but seriously. Of this book the *International Socialist Review* (Feb., 1909), says:

"This is one of the socialist classics. Charminglly written and easy to read, it also contains an immense mass of historical information of the utmost value to every student of socialism."

From the chapter *Socialism Triumphant*, p. 225, we quote a full paragraph:

"As to the particulars of life under the socialist order, we may, to begin with, say concerning marriage and the family that it would be affected by the great change, firstly in economics, and secondly in ethics. The present marriage system is based on the general supposition of economic dependence of the woman on the man, and the consequent necessity for his making provision for her, which she can legally enforce. This basis would disappear with the advent of social economic freedom, and no binding contract would be necessary between the parties as regards livelihood; while property in children would cease to exist, and every infant that came into the world would be born into full citizenship, and would enjoy all its advantages, whatever the conduct of its parents might be. Thus a new development of the family would take place, on the basis, not of a predetermined lifelong business arrangement, to be formally and nominally held to, irrespective of circumstances, but on mutual inclination and affection, an association terminable at the will of either party. It is easy to see how great the gain would be to morality and sentiment in this change. At present, in this country at least, a legal and quasi moral offence has to be committed before the obviously unworkable contract can be set aside. On the continent, it is true, even at the present day the marriage can be dissolved by mutual consent; but either party can, if so inclined, force the other into subjection, and prevent the exercise of his or her freedom. It is perhaps necessary to state that this change would not be made merely formally and mechanically. There would be no vestige of reprobation weighing on the dissolution of one tie and the forming of another. For the abhorrence of the oppression of the man by the woman, or the woman by the man (both of which continually happen to-day under the *ægis* of our would-be moral institutions) will certainly be an essential outcome of the ethics of the New Society."

Surely there were no excuse for the student should he mistake the meaning of this socialist classic. Under *Socialism Triumphant* no "binding contract" shall be made, neither civil nor sacred. Women shall be utterly defenceless and divorced from their dignities as wife and mother. Men utterly homeless and irresponsible, being deprived of their privileges as husband and father, they sink to the lot of male animals, with neither rights nor duties to perform. And the children! God forbid, shall know no father's authority—no father's protection; and no mother's love—no mother's teaching. The infant citizen shall grow up in the barracks. Truly as cold a world for the father, mother and the child as lust hot from hell could make it, is this New Society.

And yet now and again some mentally befuddled workman, or some impudent rascal of an editor, denies his doctrine when it is cited that socialism is an attack on the home, the family, and the church. That the socialists foment riot and disorder, that they propose to overthrow law and order, religion and morality, that they are laying the foundation for a system of confusion, vice, and infidelity.

The Worker (7-20-1902), with an utter disregard for truth in its unholy thirst for converts to the cause of damnation warns the:

"Gentlemen of the 'Catholic Light' it is a dangerous game you are playing. Honesty is the best policy. In this age of newspapers and public meetings it does not pay to falsify facts too recklessly. The miners are learning what socialism is by meeting and listening to socialists and reading their writings. If you keep on misrepresenting socialism you will succeed only in destroying the miner's confidence in you. We give you this warning in all kindness and good faith, for we do not wish to quarrel with you."

Truly, the one institution, above all others, which you Knights of the Socialist Mind fear is the Catholic Church. You do not *wish to quarrel* with Catholic gentlemen, surely not; you wish to undermine the Catholic Faith in the hearts of the uneducated, to bring the great mass of Catholic workmen over into your camp under false pretenses, and you know that you could never win them in any other way. For Catholics have standards that hold to right-reason and to common sense, and they have light supernatural. Sir Knights of the Socialist quill, you cannot confuse the issue with bluff and bluster, and you cannot avoid coming face to face at most inopportune times with your own vile literature which you never intend to withdraw from circulation, for it is an integral part of your creed. You know too well the double game you play to wish to meet on a free field in a fair fight the issue of family integrity. You mean to employ socialist tactics—to be bold when it is politically prudent and to be innocent when you dare not be bold. You think the public is daft. You say that you do not attack the home, when in your published list of books on sale, in almost every issue of your papers are to be found socialist books advocating the destruction of the

family. In the face of the fact of socialist advocacy of free love it is brazen assumption for you to call the *Catholic Light* to task by telling them that "honesty is the best policy." But honesty is not your best policy, for if you were honestly to put your doctrine before the American people they would have none of it. We say to you *it is a dangerous game* you are playing, and this book will unmask the socialist mind.

The basis of your sex doctrine—economic determinism—keeps one's gaze upon the ground. The low regard in which women are held and the degrading conclusions as to the "ideal" sex relation, come alike from this false theory. Karl Marx says, "The first division of labor is that of man and wife in breeding children." Think to what straits one is put in defence of one's theory when human procreation is classed under the science of political economy. Here is another sample of a father of the *materialist concept of history*. "In the family the man is the bourgeois, the woman represents the proletariat." (Frederick Engels.)

While this from Ernest Belfort Bax is viler still:

"The husband is compelled, by custom and by law, to do *corvée*, or to yield up such portion of his earnings as may enable his wife to live in comfort—just as the villein was compelled to do *corvée*, or to pay his lord a proportion of the produce of the fields worked by his labour. The lord had the practical monopoly of the villein's means of existence—the land. Under the most favourable circumstances, he exacted from him a toll, in the shape of a rent, in kind or money, and other dues, for the privilege of working the land. The woman possesses the monopoly of what is, if not a primary, at least a secondary necessary of life to the great majority of men—the means of sexual satisfaction, her body; and for allowing him access to which the law entitles her to demand a rent and dues in the shape of food, clothes, shelter—in short provision in accordance with the station in life occupied by her *villein*, the husband, without any exertion on her part." (*Social Democrat*.)

Thus to defend free-love upon a made-to-order economic ground, is strictly in keeping with the atheist dogmas which lie at the root of its many sided propaganda.

With nothing to distinguish the human creation of wealth from the Divine creation of man socialism wallows in the intellectual mire. They cannot see the Divine Law—the positive side of the civic law with its basis in equity, which holds

men to paths of duty and honor. No, they see only the negative side—the policeman's club—the force which protects woman in the collection of her fee for the rent of her body from her "villein," the husband, as the lord is allowed to collect the fee for the rent of his land.

No wonder *The Call* (4-3-1910), sings an ode to the prostitute when the "science" of socialism has such a story to tell. No wonder that the Rev. Roland D. Sawyer, socialist (*New York Call*, 7-10-1910), finds comfort in our national shame—divorce. For he has an economic, not a moral, basis for ill-will and lust:

"There is no hint in it that we are less religious or less moral than our fathers and mothers. We are simply passing through economic changes, that is all."

Of course to be consistent (though it is impossible that socialists shall be), Rev. Sawyer would have no use for the words religious and moral, save only as terms once having much influence though with no real content. For:

"Beneath throne, altar, and hearth, in their present form, all socialists know that there lies the market. They know that the market is the bed-rock on which the throne, the altar, and the hearth of the nineteenth century rests, and that this bed-rock shattered, the said throne, altar, and hearth will be doomed."

We need make no apology for quoting somewhat frequently from this distinguished Englishman, for since the death of Dietzgen the mantle of "our philosopher" has fallen to the lot of Ernest Belfort Bax. We like, too, the open foe; even though like the courage of the rat in the corner, his is desperation, for the standards of the moral law play no part in the findings of this "race-conscious" mind. We quote from "Outlooks From a New Standpoint," (pp. 155-60):

"In the present day there are but two alternatives—the *mystical* sanction of monogamy, and what we may term the *vestryman* sanction. The only rational position for those who take up the strict lines of legalized monogamic chastity and sniff disapprovingly at the fact, or the notion, of sexual intercourse outside this relation, is the mystical—Christian sanction. Such a one must regard marriage and the sex relation generally, as a sacred symbol of a solemn, mystical truth, otherwise he is a blatant fraud. For though he may 'most powerfully and potently' believe in the

economic or vestryman sanction, yet this alone, while it might lead to reasoned remonstrance, could not possibly evoke any genuine unction of the kind one is accustomed to associate with conventional laudations of chastity, and condemnations of its breach, or with finger-pointings at the non-respectable woman. For this sanction has a quite peculiar flavour, which could in reality only be caused by an outrage on our deepest feelings, such as would rend our hearts, and not merely our trousers' pocket. The unctious saint, if we are persuaded of his sincerity, one may respect and even love, but the unctious vestryman no man can love. Besides, the 'vestryman' sanction—that is the one consisting of mere economical expediency—loses its direct force in at least two cases within the limits of our present society. It loses where the question of offspring is eliminated by 'practical malthusianism,' or other causes. It loses it where the offspring are as well provided for as they would be in marriage. It loses it, as a matter of course, where the economic basis of society, from being individualistic, has become socialistic. The vestryman or trousers-pocket sanction of marriage is, therefore, obviously not of a nature to give the institution a fundamental ethical basis, and hence, we are justified in saying that monogamy as an ethical principle collapses with the collapse of theological mysticism. For this reason, the various Christian sects are trying to constitute themselves the custodians of monogamy and the conventional sexual morality, as the only remunerative occupation left them, except philanthropy, after the loss of public interest in God and Christ.

"In addition to the Christians there are the Positivists and miscellaneous rhetoricians who seek to prop up monogamy by phrases. They are, however, a very feeble folk; so far as this question is concerned, we have already pointed out the only two solid arguments for the monogamic principle and the sexual abstinence it involves. Now, these good people can't exactly accept either the 'mystical' or the 'vestryman' position. Hence, they take refuge in deliciously vague declamation on the nobility, on the loftiness, of the ideal which handcuffs one man and one woman together for life. We are never allowed to see precisely where the nobility and the loftiness come in, but we are assured that they are there. The mere commonplace man, if left to himself, would probably think that it rested entirely upon circumstances, upon character, temperament, etc., whether the perpetual union of two persons was desirable. There are excellent men and women [possibly the majority] born with dispositions for whom a single permanent union is doubtless just the right thing; there are other excellent men and women who are born with lively imaginations and bohemian temperaments for whom it is not always precisely the right thing. Now, the plain man of ordinary reflection would imagine that all these phases of human nature have their justification and their corresponding ideals. No, says the Positivist, or other rhetorical upholder of strict monogamy, there is only one absolute ideal, and on the procrustean bed of this ideal all men and women must be stretched.

" . . . It is clearly the duty of every individual to protest against it openly by word and deed, rather than for the sake of gaining the applause of mawkish sentimentalists to sanction it either tacitly or avowedly.

"Herein we have an instance of the distinction between bourgeois morality and socialist morality. To the first it is 'immoral' to live in a marital relation without having previously subscribed to certain legal formalities. . . . To the second . . . to live in a state of unlegalized marriage defileth not a man, 'nor woman neither.' There are some persons even who need enjoining to deny themselves the pleasure of asceticism and the smug self-satisfaction they derive from it. . . .

"Enforced monogamy and its correlate, prostitution, is the great historical antithesis of civilization in the sexual sphere, just as master-ship and service is in the economic sphere, or as God and nature in the speculative sphere, or as sin and holiness in the sphere of ethics generally, etc.

"Socialism will strike at the root at once of compulsory monogamy and prostitution by inaugurating an era of marriage based on free choice and intention, and characterised by the absence of external coercion.

"In this, as in other departments, the modern man, immersed in the categories of the *bourgeois* world, sees everything through them. For him, therefore, there exists only legalized monogamic marriage and prostitution, both of which are based essentially on commercial considerations. The one is *purchase*, the other *hire*. He cannot see the higher and only really moral form of the marriage-relation which transcends both, and which is based neither on *sale* nor *hire*. Prostitution is immoral as implying the taking advantage by the woman of a monopoly which costs her no labour for the sake of extorting money from the man. But the condition of legal marriage—maintenance—does the same.

"If it be asked, is marriage a failure? the answer of any impartial person must be—monogamic marriage is a failure—the rest is silence. We know not what the new form of the family, the society of the future, in which men and women will be alike economically free, may evolve, and which may be generally adopted therein. Meanwhile, we ought to combat by every means within our power the metaphysical dogma of the inherent sanctity of the monogamic principle."

What plainer declaration could be made against the monogamic family?—And Bax is the leading "philosophic reasoner and exponent of socialist theory and doctrine." How, now? Shall socialists be given the political power with which to put their theories into general practice?

Shall they be permitted to throw the *couleur-de-rose* over their double dealing? which is so common to the better tacticians than Bax. Shall their statements be credited as sin-

cere when denying free-love to be a part of their economic system, by the staff in control of socialist propaganda?

Bax's argument is all so openly heathen, so above duplicity in the support of *sex freedom* (as whatsoever practice may be called save that alone which is given Christian sanction), that although the opposing arguments for marriage as a sacrament are not worked out (could not be worked out in fact by one having actually convinced himself on the side taken by this socialist philosopher), it would seem that here it were unnecessary to defend that marriage state which God ordained and which His Church has through nineteen centuries handed down inviolate. For our primary purpose on this ground is to give more than sufficient testimony to the effect that no man can be a doctrinaire socialist who is not a free-lover in theory if not in practice.

However, one point is altogether too telling to let pass without comment. As neither Bax, nor "our philosopher" before him, neither elsewhere in the whole of socialist literature, has any one attempted to outline that *new form* of the family which has so wildly captivated the socialist imagination and is so commonly and so glibly talked about in radical circles. The reason is not far to seek. This *new form* is *no form* with which to maintain the procreation of the human race.

No man can in imagination climb above the purity, beauty, strength and permanence of the Original Design. So it were, indeed, a tribute to the Lord God that degenerate tongues are dumb when it comes to telling what were a better form than our Heavenly Father has created for us.

It is, too, clearly in view that Bax acknowledges that the only basis for the present form of marriage is to be found in religion. Hence the opposition to the church. For outside the influence of religion no moral law can be adduced that will establish, maintain and perfect the sacred institutions of the monogamic—the natural family—the God-given family.

In "Outlooks From a New Standpoint" Bax clearly applies socialist doctrine to the conditions of to-day. We quote:

"A man may justly reject the dominant sexual morality; he may condemn the monogamic marriage-system which obtains to-day; he may claim the right of free union between men and women; he may

contend he is perfectly at liberty to join himself, either temporarily or permanently, with a woman; and that the mere legal form of marriage has no binding force for him." (P. 114.)

"Supposing that in Russia or elsewhere, a sudden and urgent demand for material resources for party purposes arose, and that much hung upon its being immediately satisfied. Suppose again, that, as a last resort, a female member of the party were without any hypocritical pretence to sell her body to raise the money. Would not this be a commendable act? Given the elimination of the mystical theory of the sexual relation, I should say yes. Prostitution for private gain is morally repellant. But the same outward act done for a cause transcending individual interest loses its character of prostitution and acquires a new content." (P. 123.)

Let us make a close-at-home application of this reasoning. Suppose there were a carpenters' strike on for an eight-hour day. Consequently there would be a good opportunity to propagate the doctrines of socialism. But the Socialist Party were in sore need of funds to carry on their campaign. It would be in no wise immoral, provided it were done without hypocrisy, for any woman in the party to sell her body, giving the money to the party for the purpose named. After all it is not the selling of one's body that makes one a prostitute, but the purpose for which the money is used. In the good cause of socialism it would be a virtue, not a vice.

Now, we should like an answer from the women of the country (it were in vain to appeal to the leading socialist women) do you desire to give over the control of this great nation to the keeping of a movement advocating such unholy sentiments—such mawkish standards? While to the men we say, here is given the ethical standard of a political party which dares to ask of respectable American citizens their suffrages.

For ourselves, we insist that more than the satisfaction of "lively imaginations and bohemian temperaments" is needed to constitute happy living, even though idle bread and butter were served from off golden plates.

In working up to the political power in Milwaukee, it did not please the astute politicians there to defend their doctrine—the "full consequences" could be given with the bird in hand—so it was that the *Social Democratic Herald* (6-13-1903) poured out upon Father Sherman, S. J., "the degenerate son of old Tecumseh," the vials of its fury:

"Sherman is certainly not a scholar, and he showed himself a superficial fellow. The meanest part of his assault was with regard to socialism and the marriage relation. His charge that the socialists believe in loose morals is a miserable slander, one that can only come from a man with a foul mind.

"Only a low whelp would persist in such a slander, in the face of the repeated denials of the socialists themselves, in the face of their literature on the subject and in the face of the moral standing in the community of the socialists themselves. This lie about the attitude of the socialists toward marriage is kept up for only one reason, and that is, that filthy slander is considered by a man of Father Sherman's calibre an effective weapon to use against socialism among the less enlightened members of his church. But he defeats his own ends, nevertheless. When such people find that he has been lying to them they will even come to mistrust his religious teachings."

Turning to the next page, of this issue, one may find a double column advertisement of "Books on International Socialism," on sale at the office of the *Social Democratic Herald*, many books from which we have quoted in this work. Is the *Social Democratic Herald* innocent? Or is it convicted of blatant bluffing for the good of the cause?

We shall now present a wide variety of specimens of socialist literature as proof that the *Herald's* hypocritical wrath has one cause—votes wanted—together with the esteem in which the several authors and their works are held by the socialist press.

"The Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," by the *International Socialist Review* (August, 1907), is regarded highly. We quote:

"It bids fair to become one of those books which are essential to even a small socialist library. . . . Kautsky is without doubt entitled to the title of the greatest living exponent of Marxian doctrine."

On the morality of sexual relation Kautsky has this to say (193):

"The same phenomena, say of free sexual intercourse or of indifference to property, can in one case be the product of moral depravity in a society where a strict monogamy and the sanctity of property are recognized as necessary; in another case it can be the highly moral product of a healthy social organism which requires for its social needs neither property in a particular woman nor that in particular means of consumption and production."

Carrying forward the false assumption that sex immorality (although their system can logically call nothing moral) finds its cause in economics, this resolution on *The White Slave Traffic* carried at the National Congress of the Socialist Party (5-21-1910):

"Resolved, 1. That it is the sense of this congress that organizers, lecturers and the press of the Socialist Party should give careful attention to this subject, always laying stress upon the economic cause of prostitution and the white slave traffic."

In her series on the *Position of Women in the Socialist Movement* (*The Call*, 11-20-1910), Mrs. Dora B. Montefiore swings from Aristotle, taking the term "natural slaves" as applied to wives, to Dr. Elsie Parsons for her argument that the whole question of sex morality is one of "class morality:"

"Therefore, as long as the wage slaves and the wife-slaves of the present day do not revolt against existing conditions they will never get anything more assured than food, clothes, shelter."

While the argument that no high born lady ever yet suffered shameful regulation because of prostitution is assumed to be a clear case for democratic women to make a show of *revolting injustice* in as much as no high born lady is ever likely to be inconvenienced by the laws regulating prostitution.

What then is the row about? Ye gods! We are told by the pen of an English woman endorsing that of an American woman that the row is because *a division of labor* favors the development of men to the disadvantage of women in these democratic days; we quote:

"If the social stigma were taken off the prostitute, if she were no longer a segregated person, prostitution might then become, in the sense of a division of labor, more consistent with a democratic point of view. It would, nevertheless be untrue to democracy in its large meaning, i. e., equal opportunities for the total development of man or woman."

What to do—*now?* to bring about the fall of class morality and at once to realize a higher installment of democracy? Mrs. Montefiore shall speak for herself. (*The Call*, 12-4-1910):

"Give all women the vote, and they will strike off the rusty chains that hold them still in marriage as the property of the man; give them the vote, and they will help to get maintenance for their children, and will

force capitalism to respect pregnant and nursing mothers, will insist upon laws being passed against the adulteration of food, will see to it that women are tried by their peers, will remove the disabilities against children born out of wedlock, and will learn, by refusing to undersell men in the labor market, the real comradeship of labor."

Poor, dear Mrs. Montefiore! She closes her case with a discursion into symbolism, supposedly intensive. But mayhap a deeper insight into the figures she uses, shall inform the lady's mind that the movement of the spiral which she counts on to balance up the disproportions of the male and female character, proves just the opposite of her would-be conclusion, namely, that what the spiral starts with it perforce ends with. For motion is the movement of something—in this discussion—humanity. One is the start of every material phenomena, and at every full swing of the spiral the same one—extended, expanded and elevated—holds its position as the beginning of the next swing, just as it did at the starting point. Hence, one versed in the numerical values of the spiral knows that one is, was, and ever must be different in character than two. That there could be no two before there was one, though the two is latent in the one. So being unlike and unequal at the start in their basic characteristics, yet exactly complementary in their *original design*, man and woman shall, perforce, never arrive at a point of equality so long as material phenomena shall clothe souls with bodies.

Consequently, "the gynardrooratic" movement of the spiral shall at best, take us up to a higher plane, but to a state where just the self same basic and complementary differences which God gave in the beginning to the two structures—positive and negative—of the one human race. However, we may change—pervert—this individual design which God gave to each one of us, there is no testimony to show that God's designs have changed. So science stands by Faith in the declaration that God made each one of us perfect. We as individuals and as race make ourselves as bad as we are at whatever position on the spiral, whether at the point of beginning or at which ever turn on the spiral we find ourselves within our own day and generation.

Yet in spite of reason, our experience, and the records of history, the conclusion is final that somehow or other, the nature

of men and women must give way to an impossible equality to fit the very much trumped up and popular *science of socialism*. We quote from page 7 of *The Introduction to "Woman and Socialism,"* (Bebel, 1910):

"The Socialist Party is the only one that has made the full equality of women, their liberation from every form of dependence and oppression, an integral part of its program; not for reasons of propaganda, but from necessity. *For there can be no liberation of mankind without social independence and equality of the sexes.*"

Of course, as an equality which lies quite outside of the nature of God's providence, is the socialist quest, it must be made to their especial order—by themselves. The order has been filled, so the *International Socialist Review* (June, 1907), says, by Robert Rives La Monte in "Socialism—Positive and Negative," (Chicago, 1907). The book

"is brilliant, fearless, searching. It pricks some beautiful bubbles. It will ruffle some people's feelings. But it will leave the reader with a clearer view of socialism and a better understanding of his own mental make-up."

Rives La Monte makes it clear that he has arranged the conditions for just the kind of equality wanted—within a state of chaos. After giving *Collectiveism* and *Democracy* as the sum and substance of socialist platforms, the necessary condition for socialist equality is set forth. We quote (p. 89):

"Socialist parties do not attack Religion, the Family, or the State. But socialist philosophy proves conclusively that the realization of the positive political and economic ideals of socialism involves the atrophy of Religion, the metamorphosis of the Family and the suicide of the State."

La Monte imparts no new doctrine. Like his predecessors and his contemporaries, what beast the metamorphosed family shall be, brilliant as he is, he does not picture. Truly it were enough to please the devil that the Christian family is to be destroyed.

Perhaps no man better than the eloquent Jean Jaures, leader of the Socialist Party in the French Chamber of Deputies (*The Independent*, 8-20-1908), has laid out the desired

means of passage from matrimonial order to sex anarchy. When speaking of the "liberal" divorce laws adopted by the French Parliament, M. Jaures proceeds:

"But the French Parliament has not said the final word on this divorce problem. The moment marriage is no longer considered an indissoluble social institution, forced on individuals as an indestructible social bond, there is no good reason why it should not be left wholly to the will of the contracting parties. They were free to make the marriage and should in the same way be free to unmake it. In fact, just as the will of one of the parties could have prevented the marriage, so the will of one should be able to end it. The power to annul should, of course, be all the stronger when both parties desire it. As the French mind is very logical, it may be surmised therefore, that in due time divorce in France will become very free. The first step will be divorce by mutual consent. In this case, both parties will make known their wish that the bond be severed, and the law will recognize this right without going to an inquiry of any kind. The final step will be separation at the demand of one of the parties. This is the reform now very ably and vigorously prest by the well-known French novelists, the Margueritte brothers."

In passing, it should be noted that this socialist statesman regards the propaganda by novelists as playing an important role in the formation of legislative opinion.

However, the Frenchman has not outdone the would-be American legislator on the significance of divorce. In *Lucifer* (1-19-1905) Franklin H. Wentworth, puts in a nutshell the "scientific" posture of the party upon the family:

"All social laws are but the reflex and consequence of economic conditions. The world has always considered that thing moral and just which is consonant with the laws respecting private property. The present form of marriage cannot escape this classification. Woman has been private property; she is still private property, and the laws which bulwark conventional marriage bear ample testimony to prove this immoral fact.

"It is the fast growing disregard for private property, and its unjust assumptions of right, that is slowly liberating men and women from the intolerable conditions of unhappy marriage. Men and women are finding a new ethic in the belief that it is immoral for one human being to possess any proprietary rights in another. Hence the growing so-called 'evil' of divorce is but the collusion of a higher ethic with a lower; the manifestation of health coming out of disease; the process of readjustment, wholesome and full of promise.

"But one cannot understand this while ignorant of the principle of economic determinism."

Whatever the language, or whatever the particular theme of sex-run-mad, all the doctrinaires rest their degenerate story on *economic determinism*.

In his work, "Socialism and Modern Science," Enrico Ferri educes from economic determinism its humanistic terms—bread and love, by which latter sex passion is meant. This book was published in Italian, it has been translated into French, German, Spanish, Dutch, Servian and into English by Rives La Monte.

In writing of Ferri, who is the editor of the socialist daily, *The Avanti*, and a member of the Italian Parliament, *The International Socialist Review* says that he (Ferri) is the foremost exponent of socialism now living. We quote from a review of the book (*I. S. R.*, Feb., 1901):

"Since the translation of Marx's 'Capital' there has been no greater contribution to the socialist movement of the English speaking world than is afforded by this work. Under the title 'Socialisme et Science Positive' it had already become one of the classics of the French, Belgian and Italian movement. . . . The book is a perfect arsenal of ideas for socialist writers and speakers, and must form a part of the equipment of every well-armed socialist."

One of these "ideas" Ferri sets forth as follows (p. 48):

"When in a family financial affairs run smoothly and prosperously, harmony and mutual good-will prevail; as soon as poverty makes its appearance, discord and struggle ensue."

How false is this principle every thoughtful person must know from the testimony all about him. It is not true that happiness is conditioned upon the quantity of bread and butter in the larder. Certainly finance determines whether one shall live in an overcrowded tenement or in a mansion, if in the city, or in a substantial farm house or in a little wooden shanty if in the country. But thanks to the good God finance is not the prime factor in determining whether "harmony and mutual good will prevail" within the several degrees of domestic poverty, or abundance. Harmony and good-will may spring from one of two sources. It may be the good nature of old Tillie or it may be the result of self-discipline, the conquering of selfishness, ambition and the other vices to which the human

flesh is heir. Of course being merely a negative—a materialist—philosophy, socialism could not be expected to take cognizance of the positive self-attainment which comes from obedience to religious law. The dumpy good nature which comes from a full belly, and the sex vanity which is pleased with fine apparel, is not of the same stuff as the scanting of one's meal that the children may have sufficient food and the cheerful surrender of the good clothes to the one who needs them the most. Certainly the "harmony and good-will" which is born of purely material pleasures will flee out of the window when poverty comes in at the door, but it is as the moonlight to the sunlight in the heart of the conscious man. In one word, the one is nature and the other is grace. Harmony and good-will worth the having comes by obedience to the will of God.

If wealth be sufficient cause of harmony, as is alleged, we ask these "modern scientists" how it happens that so much disharmony and lack of good-will exists among the rich? Are the rich happy and are the poor miserable? No, verily. Happiness, that elevation of the spirit which is the fruit of religion alone, is found with the poor, and it is found with the rich—God is no respecter of persons. But, alas! so also is discord and misery found alike with the rich and with the poor. Elevation is not conditioned upon location.

Another question to socialists is also pertinent. Do you think finance would guard the happiness of your household if your mother, wife, daughter or sister were to carry out the socialist code of morals—if in answer to a "sudden and urgent demand for material resources for party purposes arose, she were to sell her body to raise the money?"

Such a round turn in his experience should bring a man to his senses.

However, the twin pillars of intellectual perversity and emotional degeneracy, over which he has arched a "perfect arsenal of ideas," Ferri has not neglected to set up:

"It may be said these two fundamental instincts of life—bread and love—by their functioning maintain a social equilibrium in the life of animals, and especially in Man.

"It is love which causes, in the great majority of men, the principal physiological and psychical expenditure of the forces accumulated in

larger or smaller quantities by the consumption of daily bread, and which the daily labor has not absorbed or which parasitic inaction has left intact.

"Even more—love is the only pleasure which has a universal and equalitarian character. The people have named it 'the paradise of the poor,' and religions have always bidden them to enjoy it without limits—'be fruitful and multiply'—because the erotic exhaustion which results from it, especially in males, diminishes or hides beneath its pall of forgetfulness the tortures of hunger and servile labor, and permanently enervates the energy of the individual; and to this extent it performs a function to the ruling class." ("Socialism and Modern Science.")

It would seem that nothing could pass beyond the malice of this triple infamy. Is this the limit of insult to Almighty God? Is this the vilest slander upon the Christian Church? Is this the most radical imposture upon the name of science? Answer, you vilifiers of right-reason.

Honest men, study the word of God and note the frankness with which lewd and lustful conduct is condemned. The Sodomites were wiped from off the face of the earth. The sons of Abraham were commanded not to spill their seed upon the ground. Marriage was elevated to a sacrament by Christ in fulfillment of the Mosaic law given by God. Then contrast the customs of pagan Rome, where marriage was looked upon as an irksome restraint, and was little resorted to, the passions being indulged by intercourse with female slaves. Then follow the contrast in ideals and in practices, in the nations that were converted to the Christian Religion. Then look at this insult passing current within the socialist movement which alleges that sexual excesses were, aye were and are, encouraged by the religious to hide "beneath its pall of forgetfulness the tortures of hunger and servile labor," and it shall be clearly seen that beneath all this intense desire to get the political power, with which to reconstruct the several societies of the world, is nothing but the deadly hate of truth—of God.

Citizens, pray consider the facts in the case. Look at the command to be "fruitful and multiply" with the pure eyes which behold in marriage a sacrament. Think, if you would know its meaning, of the loving sex restraint self-put upon a man to protect the wife of his heart from his approaches during the period of gestation—through the period of nursing. Think

what it means to sacrifice the sexual desires to the end of maintaining marriage as a sacred institution and then read the command to be "fruitful and multiply" with the pure light of love, rather than with the lustful eye which reads into it the opportunity for the "erotic exhaustion," of which Ferri treats. Or for that refined damnation, which passes under its several "scientific" names, of setting up the sex fluids and translating them into "idealistic pleasures." To be fruitful and multiply is the clean, the simple command of God to man, it deals not with substitutes, but goes straight to the moral core. Use the sex organs for one purpose only—that of procreation, within the sacred bond of matrimony. Outside that bond, no! for adultery is a deadly sin and a crime to the integrity of the state. The devil cannot paint a blacker picture in vilification of the religious effort of the ages to purify the lusts and institute chastity amongst men than this socialist classic. Nor can the devil encroach upon the standards of sex morality with more seductive garb than that of science.

And what have scientists to offer towards the perfection of the marriage state? Nothing but a fuller obedience to the moral law. Nothing but that, from the time of Plato to—well, to the latest medical warning against race suicide.

Perhaps more than any other writer Bebel has influenced international opinion upon the sex question within that rapidly extending circle of persons who deny religious authority and so the validity of the Ten Commandments, for he is indeed a powerful personality. Herr August Bebel is still (1911) the veteran leader of the Social Democratic Party in the German Reichstag. He was first elected to the North German diet from Glauchen Meeran district, Saxony, in 1867. In 1871 he was sent to the Imperial Parliament, and with brief exceptions he has remained a member ever since.

Bebel has been associated with the editorship of *The Berlin Vorwaerts*, the leading socialist daily of Germany. Chief among his literary productions is "Woman." It is considered the international text book on the woman question. In the introduction to this book, of which there have been fifty editions in Germany alone, there is to be found this passage: "I request readers to regard the following statements as the expres-

sion of my personal opinions." Of course this may have been to protect the party from seeming to take officially a position upon which it had not voted. It may have been modesty, or it may have been vanity in him—claiming the first right to such a remarkable misconception of historic data. However that may be, Bebel's "personal opinions" are an integral part of the socialist garment, not to be torn out of its warp and woof without rending the coat asunder.

Socialist women are especially fervid in their endorsement of Bebel's opinions. The members of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party have Bebel clubs to enlighten other women with the blindness of spiritual death. The editor of *The Woman's Department of Wilshire's Magazine* announces a study course by Mrs. Oppenheimer: The subject *Woman*, with Bebel's book as its groundwork. The magazine avers (Sept., 1910):

"No better basis could have been chosen for such a course of study than the book on woman written by Bebel."

The Socialist Woman (Chicago, Oct., 1907), is no less confident, we quote:

"Bebel's book shows how the overthrow of the capitalist system and the inauguration of a socialist régime will give her the coveted place in social progress for which she vainly strives to-day."

This vaunted *progress* is taking woman farther and farther away from womanhood, from real knowledge. It is that magical thing with which to conjure up the "new woman"—the sexless woman, the "equal" of man. *The Progressive Woman*, a socialist monthly, published in Girard, Kansas, places Bebel's book second only to "The Origin of the Family," in its list of "Books of Interest to Women."

The National Woman's Committee of the Socialist Party—Meta L. Stern, Theresa Malkiel, Dr. Antoinette Konikow, May Wood Simons and Winnie Bransteter—took the occasion of his seventieth birthday (Feb. 22, 1910) to hail August Bebel as the emancipator of woman, we quote. The National Woman's Committee of the Socialist Party, say:

"We too feel privileged to say our August Bebel. Although the ocean rolls between his country and ours, although we belong to another

nation and speak a different language, he still is ours in heart and spirit. For August Bebel and the immortal book that he has given to women are as international as socialism itself."

"Bebel's 'Woman' has become the foundation of the proletarian woman's movement of all lands. Coming generations will recognize it as a historical document recording the enslavement and the emancipation of woman."

As more than a year has passed since Bebel's pernicious work was dubbed "immortal" by their women officials, and as no protest has been heard from any section of the country, how much credit should be given to a wee, wee voice that here and there feels perhaps a momentary prick of conscience and hides behind the excuse that Bebel's is a mere personal opinion?

The Rev. Carl D. Thompson, a socialist lecturer of the West, presumably was somewhat restive under its dogma—somewhat ashamed to meet its text, which from cover to cover is an attack not only upon the marriage bond but upon all else which the religious hold sacred.

Some little time ago Rev. Thompson presented Bebel's statement with one of his own, which because it was a *mere personal opinion* it was expected to shield the individual who felt the need of protection from Bebel's indecency. "Bebel had a perfect right . . . to set forth his views as he did, whether they were a part of Marx's or not." Certainly, yes. But there is not a shadow of doubt that Marx and all other "scientific" socialists agreed, and still agree, with this book; for they have most industriously circulated it in propagating the socialist doctrine.

"This book contains Bebel's personal opinions"? Good. The question is, are Bebel's opinions, written down in "Woman," socialist opinions? Emphatically, yes.

The recent indications are that Mr. Thompson, who has dropped his reverend, is not squeamish over the matter, for he was one of the seven members of the National Executive Committee which recommended Bebel's "Woman" to the party membership. Evidently there should be no more quibbling as to the separation of Bebel's personal from his socialist opinions, since this leader's "opinion" is the official opinion of the party. But there is. For the ex-representative to the Massachusetts legislature is too good a socialist tactician to leave off the quibble.

However, Mr. Thompson, sometime reverend, has wholly recovered from the moral shock of Bebel's personal opinions,—recovered by familiarity with the monster which he has embraced. Mr. Carl D. Thompson's recent booklet—"What to Read and What to Give Others to Read" (Milwaukee, 1910), recommends Bebel's "Woman," "The Origin of the Family," and other of the socialist classics on the sexes. So, although this brilliant speaker probably takes no more of "the opium of the people," as Untermann calls religion, he gives the doctrine of sex degredation in copious doses to the people.

No, we do not quarrel with the fact that Herr Bebel holds very vile personal opinions, but rather with the fact that the opinions expressed, and purporting to be a scientific analyses, in "Woman," have been and are propagated by the International Socialist Movement; and that the inculcation of these false and vile opinions into the public opinion of our country is a deadly peril to the safety of this dear land. Our quarrel is greatly to be waged for it is of great consequence.

Just as "Science and Health, A Key to the Scriptures," embodies the personal opinions of Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy, so "Science and Health" also embodies the opinions of the members of the "Church of Christ Scientist." Therefore "Science and Health" is of much more weight in propagating the dogmas of this sect than would be the merely personal opinions of "Mother Eddy."

So, also, "Woman," no longer represents merely the personal opinion of a great leader of the party, but it embodies the collective opinion of the International Socialist Movement.

Of course there is this difference—one is the key to the "science" of health—while the other is the key to the "science" of sex. One denies everything but spirit, while the other denies everything but matter in motion. For one there is no body, for the other there is no cause.

What then, is the sex doctrine of the International Socialist Movement, propagated by the political parties within the several nations?

We quote from the 1910 edition of "Woman":

"Marriage and the family are the foundations of the state. Whoever, therefore, attacks marriage and the family, is attacking society

and the state and undermining both.' Thus exclaims the defenders of the present order. Monogamic marriage, as has been sufficiently shown, is the outcome of the system of gain and property that has been established by bourgeois society, and therefore undoubtedly forms one of its basic principles. But whether it is adapted to natural needs and to a healthy development of human society is a different question. We will show that this marriage, which depends upon the bourgeois system of property, is a more or less enforced relation, having many disadvantages and frequently fulfilling its purpose only insufficiently or not at all. We will furthermore show that it is a social institution which is and remains unattainable to millions of persons, instead of being a free union founded on love, the only union suited to nature's purposes." (Page 104.)

The earlier editions concluded this paragraph with these words:

"—A marriage founded upon the free, untrammelled choice of love, *such as is only possible in a socialistic society.*"

Of course, as *nature's purposes* have taken the place of the Ten Commandments to the humanists *et al*, it is a much more skillful bit of propaganda than the older wording, though the self-same doctrine is set forth. Marriage is an invention of bourgeois society, a mere safeguard for private property; as only when the man may be sure that the children to whom he shall leave his property are legitimate is the family property secure or the established régime safe.

It argues nothing to socialist doctrinaires that these facts fit in with marriage as a divine institution, as they must, by the "materialist conception of history," account for the stability of Christian civilization. So the basic principle of capitalist society is put into the phrase of bread and love. Woman because of her sex, and workmen because of their poverty, are kept in slavery; one cause being sufficient in the case of men, while—in compliment to women we suppose—a two-fold affliction was placed upon her.

This principle is evolving. Oh, yes, of course, as nothing under the sun or above it is without change. Hardly ever, for it may be reluctantly admitted, that sometimes two and two do seem always to make four. Evolution is working out to the end of private property; and to the emancipation of the working class for that reason. Also to female equality (no doubt the

structure of both will change under the psychology of socialist suggestion) with the men that shall be under that prognosticated classless society, wonderful!

One must not have in mind love as God made it. "Love" as one or the other half, we don't know which, of that basic socialist principle is nothing more nor less than the sex sensation of the animal become conscious of its sensation in *the human*. Love as the Author of the Ten Commandments made it is something other. It brings out the purity of its ecstatic colors in obedience to the chaste desires and the determined effort to fulfill the law of God—to increase and multiply. Save continence be his choice, one must decide between the evolution of love in its chastity, or the devolution of the sex passion in the lust of criminality.

Of course, under Christian civilization men and women have, within the limits of reason, been free to choose their wedded mates. Consequently to make the freedom of the sexes look like slavery in order to apply their formula of "bread and love," socialists play high jinks with their own interpretation of history. Because they want the license to part, they quarrel with the liberty to wed. We quote as before the New York edition "Woman" (p. 116):

"The part played by church and state in this sort of 'sacred marriage' is not a worthy one. The state official or the officiating clergyman whose task it is to perform the marriage ceremony, never pauses to consider by what methods the couple he is about to join in wedlock have been brought together. It may be quite evident, that the two are in no wise mated either in regard to their ages or in regard to physical and mental qualities; the bride may, for instance, be twenty and the groom seventy, or vice versa; the bride may be beautiful and full of vitality, the groom may be old, cross and afflicted with infirmities; it makes no difference to the representative of state and church. The marriage is consecrated, and the consecration is most solemn in character where the monetary reward for this 'holy function' is most generous."

Simply because the freedom of the sexes to choose their mates is held inviolate, neither the church nor the state assumes the authority of passing judgment upon the compatibility of the persons entering into matrimony. But the religious requirements are "that both parties . . . be in a state of grace when they contract the sacrament of marriage, for two reasons:

ist, because they themselves administer the sacrament and secondly, because they receive the sacrament."

Consistency thou art indeed a jewel! Would the socialists within the "free society" search into the compatibility of their fellows who bed and board together?

Indeed the ideal society which is pictured reads like a condition of degeneracy with the power in the hands of the majority who are subject to no authority but their own unreason. There is to be no government over persons, merely an administration of industry. Yet the race is to be bred scientifically under a cast-iron environment created by the faction in power. Of course all the people of one opinion is the glowing ideal held forth. So in case anybody should happen to retain the "rabies of Christianity," he shall not be permitted to educate his children in the superstitions of his own religion. For the safety of the commune must be looked after, don't you know!

Together with the persistent iteration that marriage enslaves the woman, the idea is played up that even the prostitute enjoys a "liberty" above the dignity of wifehood. So it is that the idea of the equality of men and women is made to appear as a panacea for sex aversion, which is most frequently caused by disloyalty of thought or act. We quote, again from "Woman" (p. 118):

"Human beings then [because the new German civil code has made divorce more difficult] remain chained to one another for lifetime against their will. One party becomes a slave to the other and is forced in fulfillment of 'matrimonial duties,' to endure intimate embraces that perhaps seem more loathsome than harsh words and ill-treatment. . . . Is such marriage not worse than prostitution? Even the prostitute has a certain degree of liberty of withdrawing from her abominable trade, and if she is not the inmate of a public brothel, she may refuse herself to a man she does not wish for some reason or other. But a woman sold in marriage must endure the embraces of her husband, even though she have a hundred reasons to hate and despise him."

Does it follow that the awful state pictured is the result of poverty? Is this a case of "economic determinism?" Is it not rather a case of sin? And shall the whole structure of civilization fall because some men and women, many men and women, live in sin and are "chained" together. Far be it

from us to assume that the vilest may not be restored to moral health. The process is quitting sin, not getting deeper into it.

The truth of the matter is that socialist idealism is modeled on The Ode to the Prostitute, and so fascinated with its deformity are they that everything is measured by its hideous standard. It is the two opposing poles which attract attention—beauty and deformity—with the abnormal vision deformity is the yard-stick by which all things are measured, so the cure for prostitution is to make all women “free wives,” just as the cure for pauperism is to make all men paupers by law. Bebel says, in “Woman” (p. 370):

“As soon as society has become the owner of all means of production, the duty to work of all able-bodied persons, regardless of sex, becomes a fundamental law of socialized society.”

Within the “socialized society” all motherly instincts are to be smothered by the economic machine. Women will no longer be the mistresses of the homes, in fact there will be no homes,—but women will have equal opportunity, with men, to work. A charming prospect! Bebel’s “Woman” shall set it forth in its contradictory detail (pp. 466, 467):

“In the new society woman will be entirely independent, both socially and economically. She will not be subject to even a trace of domination and exploitation, but will be free and man’s equal, and mistress of her own lot. Her education will be the same as man’s with the exception of those deviations that are necessitated by the difference of sex and sexual functions. Living under normal conditions of life, she may fully develop and employ her physical and mental facilities. She chooses an occupation suited to her wishes, inclinations and abilities and works under the same conditions as man. Engaged as a practical working woman in some field of industrial activity, she may, during the second part of the day, be educator, teacher or nurse; during a third she may practice a science or an art; during a fourth she may perform some administrative function. She studies, works, enjoys pleasures and recreation with other women or with men, as she may choose or as occasions may present themselves.

“In the choice of love she is as free and unhampered as man. She woos or is wooed, and enters into a union prompted by no other consideration but her own feelings. This union is a private agreement, without the interference of a functionary, just as marriage has been a private agreement until far into the middle ages. Here socialism will create nothing new, it will merely reinstate on a higher level of civilization and

under a different social form, what *generally prevailed before private property dominated society.*

"Man shall dispose of his own person, provided that the gratification of his impulses is not harmful or detrimental to others. The satisfaction of the sexual impulse is as much the private concern of each individual, as the satisfaction of any other natural impulse. No one is accountable to any one else, and no third person has a right to interfere. What I eat and drink, how I sleep and dress is my private affair, and my private affair also is my intercourse with a person of the opposite sex. Intelligence and culture, personal independence,—qualities that will become natural, owing to the education and conditions prevailing in the new society,—will prevent persons from committing action that will prove detrimental to themselves. Men and women in the future society will possess far more self-control and a better knowledge of their own natures, than men and women of to-day. The one fact alone, that the foolish prudery and secrecy connected with sexual matters will disappear, will make the relations of the sexes a far more natural and healthful one. If between a man and woman who have entered into a union, incompatibility, disappointment or revulsion should appear, morality commands a dissolution of the union which has become unnatural, and therefore immoral."

After such an avalanche of corrupted history, false psychology, degenerate suggestion and sinister conclusion, it seems almost sufficient to exclaim, death and damnation! Yet, for the very reason that this uproar against the moral order and the normal understanding of men, so oppresses the faculty of common sense, especially of those who are untrained in the art of intellectual dissection, that we must reply by a running comment.

1st. Woman as man's equal is not nor never can be woman. Woman being unlike is not inferior but rather complementary to man. A man and a woman may, indeed, each tip the scales at one hundred and fifty pounds, but a unit of weight measures the density of flesh, not the difference of opposite sex. The standard for measuring a woman is a woman, while that for measuring a man is a man. The Second Person in the Blessed Trinity—the God man Jesus—is the one perfect standard, and our Blessed Mother is the perfect woman, by which to judge all degrees of perfection. Hence, the most practical engagement for the vast majority of women is home making, and ever will be. Besides the fine arts that make up the material necessities and

comforts of home life the wife is called upon to spend time and energy as advisor and comforter. As mother she is educator and nurse, thus her administrative and executive faculties have full play, within the domestic circle. As the undivided half of her husband the woman creates society, and through this means, public sentiment is created which forms the psychological atmosphere within which the laws of the nation are codified. For those other women not inclined to wifehood and motherhood there is a whole world of work being done and waiting to be done—to follow out to its practical import our prayer that God's will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven.

2d. Man's body in marriage has become one with that of his wife; hence his own person is not at the disposal of his single will. Nor is the satisfaction of the sexual impulse a matter of his private concern. For his natural impulse is under the restraint of the moral law, and he has no sex rights save jointly with his wife.

3d. Woman is "free"—she does have the power to follow her own feelings and so go from disgrace to disgrace. But if her own feelings be not pure her rights and her feelings are at odds. Her sex rights are only within the limits of her moral relationship, though her feelings may bid her follow socialist instruction, and her power enables her to do so in defiance of her rights.

4th. With the power of disobedience to the moral order, mistaken for the freedom of the natural order, socialist philosophy persuades the people that the abnormal has become the natural—that the restraints of virtue have turned the opportunities of personal experience and culture into a vice.

So it is that by the German the Sixth Commandment is blotted out without the ceremony of doing so, yet to the Yankee it was left to put on the utilitarian polish. We quote from "Mass and Class" (p. 16), by W. J. Ghent:

"It is a commonplace of sociologists that marriage (using the term in its broadest sense) had its origin in the individualistic accumulation of property; and thus the most sacred sentiments which have gradually grown up about our ideas of chastity and love are the outcome of the desire of some remote savage to transmit his overplus of fishhooks and arrows to a legitimate heir."

Considering the fact that socialism makes a world issue of "sex freedom," and that it squares its political demands with its philosophy relative to the family, it surely were better to err on the side of a surplus of testimony rather than to scant the evidence of its position. Yet as a matter of historic fact the work which forms the basis of the International Socialist Movement comes jointly from the pen of Marx and Engels. And as their philosophy has never been radically departed from, upon these teachings socialism must stand or fall.

Frederick Engels, whose position on the family we shall present, is the farther of the "materialist basis of history" from the socialist standpoint. He was the life long friend and co-worker of Karl Marx. From 1844 to the time of Marx's death, their work is so interwoven that one shares equal credit with the other. They are known in socialist circles as the fathers of "modern scientific revolutionary socialism." Together Marx and Engels wrote the "Communist Manifesto," which socialists consider "the most important political document ever issued." It has a much larger international circulation than any other of their pamphlets.

Engels edited the first English edition of "Capital." He also edited the second and third volumes of "*Das Kapital*." Among his numerous publications are "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," "The Roots of Socialist Philosophy," "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," and "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State." This latter book was worked out from rough notes of Marx, after his death.

The People, (New York, Jan. 12, 1900) referring to these men, says:

"Among the men whom the conditions of the nineteenth century raised up as mouthpieces of the proletarian revolution, two stand pre-eminent—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Their lives were closely united from the beginning of their friendship in 1844 to the day of Marx's death in 1883. They were so intimately connected in their activities that the work of the one can hardly be considered separately from that of the other."

In "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," Engels lays down the boundaries within which socialist governmental functions

will be confined. It counsels the free marital association between men and women, no intervention of Church or state. It would create, what socialists and anarchists term, a "free family." We ask your careful reading of the following quotation that you may see that free love is to reign triumphant within the socialist co-operative commonwealth.

"With the seizure of the means of production in the name of society . . . The interference of the state in social relations becomes superfluous in one domain after another, and falls of itself into desuetude. The place of a government over persons is taken by the administration of things and the conduct of the processes of production. The state is not 'abolished'—It Dies Out."

No state, for patriotism is 'a curse!'

No family, for love is 'free!'

From "The Roots of Socialist Philosophy," by Frederick Engels (1903), we take this:

"Feelings of affection between man and man, and particularly between members of the two sexes, have existed as long as mankind has. Love between the sexes has been cultivated especially during the last eighteen hundred years and has won a place which has made it, in this period, a compulsory motive for all poetry. The existing positive religions have limited themselves in this matter to the bestowal of complete consecration upon the State regulation of sexual love, and might completely disappear to-morrow without the least difference taking place in the matter of love and friendship."

What may this mean? Is it but the knack for slippery writing which gives us a statement and a contradiction of it in the same paragraph? During the Christian era love has won a higher place in the lives of men; because of the moral qualities—charity, justice, love, wisdom, faith and hope—taught and practiced by the religious. But for all the work—the long and devoted effort to elevate the race—the Church and the state might be broken down to-morrow "without the least difference taking place in the matter of love and friendship," so say these materialist philosophers, when speaking plainly to the issue. Let us ask, is the environment which cultivated—which purified—human affection no longer necessary to support and advance it? Have human love and friendship climaxed at

the top notch of perfection? Is there nothing left to strive for? With mere "sex fondness" as their only guide to conduct, would not men and women fall under its debasing standard? If men do not go forward will they not move backward?

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart—and thy neighbor as thyself. This is the Law. The husband and the wife are made one flesh. This is the Law, which has made itself felt during all these Christian centuries. And it follows that personal and social obligations have hung like a millstone about the neck of the unfaithful. Were this knowledge darkened from the mind of man, perdition would catch each fleeing soul.

We must insist, that from the beginning God's Law is Perfect,—and we must further insist that human perfection is the nearer and yet nearer approach to the Perfect Law.

But let Engels speak:

"We must either despair of mankind, and its aims and efforts, when we see all our labor and toil result in such a mockery, or we must admit that human society has hitherto sought salvation in a false direction; we must admit that so total a reversal of the position of the sexes can have come to pass only because the sexes have been placed in a false position from the beginning." ("Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.")

We must certainly despair of mankind if civilized nations fall into the socialist slough of despond.

"If the reign of the wife over the husband, as invariably brought about by the factory system, is inhuman, the pristine rule of the husband over the wife must have been inhuman too. If the wife can now base her supremacy upon the fact that she supplies the greater part, nay, the whole of the common possession, the necessary inference is that this community of possession is no true and rational one, since one member of the family boasts offensively of contributing the greater share. If the family of our present society is being thus dissolved, this dissolution merely shows that, at bottom, the binding tie of this family was not family affection, but private interest lurking under the cloak of pretended community of possession." ("Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.")

But the family of "our present society" is not being thus dissolved, save that portion of it which falls under atheistical teachings, and succumbs. To such the toil and labor of the

atheist has resulted in a mockery—black as the devil. To declare that the religious effort to elevate the family relationship has proved a mockery is the result of a distorted vision—the inability of the “socialist mind” to see that during all the years that are passed since our Blessed Lord turned the water into wine to make glad the wedding day, at the request of His own Mother, those families living in the love of the Father, under the counsels of the Son and by the spirit of the Holy Ghost, have a comfort and a joy not in the power of this world to give or to take away. Ask the mother, who for the first time trundles her first born over the country road or through the crowded city street, is there any joy like unto her joy in the knowledge that God has loaned her a precious soul to lead back to Him? To that ecstasy, what a hell is the opposite brought on by that woman who has carried her philosophy into the practice of using her sex as she pleases. Were socialists to understand the difference between the Perfect Law and the necessarily imperfect (because human) demonstration of it, many things, which now lie in darkness, would be revealed to their minds. We pray their hearts may be opened to the light.

Meantime we shall do what we may to show that although as science the doctrine is groundless, yet this is no balm for overconfidence. For it is error when acted upon that brings disaster to the state. Neither is the danger of error afar off so long as the majority are unaffected with the virus. For a small minority once thoroughly inoculated with the poison that is being sprayed broadcast, is quite sufficient to bring on the revolution. Suppose a repetition of the coal strike of 1902 were on with the power of the men not in the hands of a Mitchell but in the irresponsible hands of a socialist, what then could happen with the wheels of the national industries paralyzed?

Of all the books on the sex question that is fanning the flames of the revolution, “The Origin of the Family” stands foremost. We desire here to give testimony as to its position in the socialist world. Karl Kautsky has the following to say:

“In the summer of 1884 Engels published his work on the ‘Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,’ in which he carried out what Marx himself had planned. He gave to the public the investigations of Morgan, and at the same time enlarged upon them. Morgan,

in his pre-historic studies, had arrived at the same materialistic conception of history which Marx and Engels had reached in their historical investigations. The orthodox knowledge of the time sought to suppress Morgan as they had previously tried to do with Marx. It was necessary not only to save him from threatened oblivion, but also to fill in the historical gaps in Morgan's investigations; to fit these into the frame of the Marx-Engels materialistic conception of history and to blend in one uniformly developed series the pre-historic and historic. Nothing less than this is accomplished in this book." ("Frederick Engels, His Work, and His Writings.")

All "scientific" socialists, writers and speakers, follow the lines laid down in this book. It is the criterion by which the truth or falsehood of socialist doctrine is made known.

The socialist publishers of this book say:

"This book, now for the first time offered to English readers, is one of the most notable works of the man who shares with Marx the honor of being the first to formulate the principles of modern socialism. It is a work which no student of social science, whatever his opinions may be, can afford to overlook. It is moreover a powerful argument for socialism, showing as it does how our present social forms have resulted inevitably from economic conditions, and how the changing conditions will as inevitably develop new forms based on common ownership of the means of production. To those who have at heart the emancipation of women this work of Engels will be a revelation, showing them at once the real causes of the wrongs now suffered by women and the one way of escape."

"The Appeal To Reason," in its "special religious edition" (Girard, Kansas, Feb. 21, 1903), recommends the "Communist Manifesto" and "The Origin of the Family" as text books from which to gain the understanding of the socialist position on marriage.

"This book has long since been translated into nearly every civilized language except English, and thousands of American readers will enjoy and profit by it as soon as it can be brought to their attention."

"For the student of social science, 'The Origin of the Family' is of great importance because it gives in condensed form the actual results of the investigations of the last half century into the beginnings of the marriage relation. It is no mere grouping of facts, but the data are dealt with by a hand that can use them. Thus the book is as useful to the socialist propagandist as to the student. Any reader who masters this work of Engels will be rid, once for all, of the complacent notion that things have always been as they are, and therefore must always remain so. He will also find himself better able to understand the complicated

problem which must soon be faced of adjusting the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, to the radically different economic conditions which are near at hand." (*International Socialist Review*, Chicago, Sept. 1902.)

The following endorsement is from *The Comrade*, John Spargo, editor (New York, November, 1902):

"One of the most important issues of that excellent Standard Socialist Series is 'The Origin of the Family,' by Frederick Engels, now for the first time translated into English by Ernest Untermann. This book, first published in 1884, has been translated into almost every European language and has long been regarded as one of the 'classics' of socialist philosophical literature. That it had not been heretofore accessible to English readers is surprising, and too much cannot be said in praise of the publishers who have supplied the movement with an admirable translation.

"It was, so Engels informs us, the intention of Marx himself to publish a work pointing out the importance and value of Morgan's investigations, and he left exhaustive critical notes prepared with that intent, so that in a manner this little work contains the blended efforts of those three intellectual giants, Morgan, Marx and Engels. There are the original researches of Morgan, the critical acumen of Marx and the added information of Engels upon the Celts and Germans. Need anything else be said to commend it to the reader?"

Next, we present the encomium of the *International Socialist Review*, A. M. Simons, editor, in the October number (1902), for we desire to make it clearly apparent that this book is of supreme authority in the socialist movement, as against any moral revolt that an individual here and there may have upon this subject.

"This book has long been known as one of the great socialist classics and has been translated into almost every other language than English. It is in many senses a supplement to Marx's 'Capital' in that it begins at the very origin of things whose climax and latest developments are described in 'Capital.'

" The book is really one of the two or three great socialist classics and now that it is in English it must find a place in the library of every one who hopes to master the real fundamental philosophy underlying socialism."

We shall make *The Worker*, Algernon Lee, editor, speak for itself. Referring to Frederick Engels' "Origin of the Family," and another socialist classic, it says: "These will be among the

most important additions to the literature of socialism in the English language since the translation of 'Capital.' (July 13, 1903.)

This quotation was taken from the edition which appeared seven days before *The Worker*, with blooming editorial audacity challenged the *Catholic Light* to cite one speech or written article in support of the declaration that socialism is an attack upon the home, the family and the church. Later on, October 12, 1902, *The Worker* again endorses "The Origin of the Family" by saying:

"An English translation of this great socialist classic has long been needed and many socialists will now for the first time have an opportunity to read and profit by it."

Still later, possibly forgetting its challenge to produce evidence on December 21, 1902, *The Worker* publishes four columns of extracts from this book, beginning with the following statement:

"THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE.' By Frederick Engel. Translated by Ernest Untermann.

"Like 'Capital,' the 'Communist Manifesto,' and 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,' this book is one of the great classics of socialist literature. It has already been translated into every other civilized language, and the translation into English is as necessary and valuable as it is belated.

"This work of Engels is based on the discoveries set forth in the 'Ancient Society' of the American, Lewis H. Morgan, which was published in 1877. Morgan had, to a certain extent, discovered for himself the materialistic conception of history originated by Marx and Engels. Marx had planned to write such a work as this one which his friend Engels completed after his death.

"The work is one which will be of absorbing interest to all students of social science who have not read it in the original, and the depth and keenness of the reasoning of Morgan, Engels and Marx combine to provide an intellectual feast for the student."

We now come to the "classic" itself. "The Origin of the Family." We quote from the division. SAVAGERY:

"1. Lower Stage. Infancy of the human race. Human beings still dwelt in their original habitation, in tropical or subtropical forests,

They lived at least part of the time in trees, for only in this way they could escape the attacks of large beasts of prey and survive. Fruit, nuts and roots served as food. The formation of articulated speech is the principal result of this period. Not a single one of all the nations that have become known in historic times dates back to this primeval stage.

"Although the latter may extend over thousands of years, we have no means of proving its existence by direct evidence. But once the descent of man from the Animal Kingdom is acknowledged, the acceptance of this stage of transition becomes inevitable." (Pages 27 and 28.)

This is easy! What one don't know he may fancy he knows. But before one can take the first "scientific" step, at this point, he must plant his foot hard down upon his "living imagination." One must some how or other span the gap which "science" most confidently assumes the race to have passed. As this is the place for links, why not complete the chain by placing Haeckel's Sir Linkship, "Pithecanthropus Erectus of Java" in the ditch, and so fill up the gap?

Of course not! Why should even one of all the nations that have become known in historic times date back to a primeval stage of which there is not a scintilla of evidence in proof? Now this fact should teach "scientists," who are supposed to deal with knowledge, a little modesty in making assertions which are not supported with data in proof. Humanism as a deduction from animalism is all very well as a pseudo philosophy—as an intellectual toy, but as science it is no better than a brass monkey.

Taking the socialist philosophy as his basis one might, with some show of reason, conclude that the monkey is a degenerate man. If the superior force can make a man out of a monkey, the stunt of the preponderance of force making a monkey out of a man is not so great after all? At all events, newspaper-science once reversed the theory of Darwin.

L'Autorité (Paris), says Professor Haeckel, the German scientist and (now once) professor at Jena University, while travelling in Java recently, in search of the missing link, discovered striking evidence that monkeys are descended from man, and not man from monkeys.

Professor Haeckel, according to the paper, says "that children, when lost in the forests, adopt monkey habits."

This is not so strange, for some men appear to be of close kin to monkeys, who are not lost in the woods.

Certainly, one must accept atheistic conclusions when once their materialistic premise is proven. However, the question is not regarding the process of man's advent upon this material earth, but rather the deeper one regarding the ultimate origin of man. Is he the child of God or the thing of chance? So until such time as the "descent of man from the Animal Kingdom" shall have been proven it is the wise—not to mention the pious course to stand by revelative knowledge which has never yet failed man as a faithful guide. Until the missing link is found, socialist "science" is a rope of sand. But whether it be found or not, socialist philosophy must ever be a blasphemy against God, because it is false, missing link or no missing link. We would not be misunderstood as meaning that in any event a material science has the last word to say. For as science is but the handmaiden to Religion, she must await the *well done* of Theology—the master of science.

Because the socialist *mind* and the atheist are twin furies, and for the reason that Rev. L. A. Lambert's dialogue might as well have been with a class-conscious socialist, we quote from his "Tactics of Infidels:"

"LAMBERT. When will the infidel understand that he is not the accepted judge of the nature of mature manhood? When will he understand that man began his career on this planet in mature manhood and not in infancy? When will he learn that the egotism of assuming that manhood is more mature at present than it was four thousand years ago is puerile nonsense or a miserable begging of the question? When will he learn that snarling at everything sacred, as a rabid cur snaps and snarls at straws, is no evidence of sense or manhood? In a word, when will he get into his skull that if his brains had never developed there would still be brains enough in the world to get along with? What has infidelity or scepticism ever done for the world? We look over the surface of the earth in vain, and through all time in vain, for any such evidence of its beneficent tracks. Its past leaves no monument to be honored; its present is destructive of morality, social order and liberty; its disciples are proud, self-conceited and egotistic; it pilfers the results of the labors of honest workers in the field of knowledge and the fruits of Christian enlightenment, and unblushingly parades these stolen properties as its own; it talks of love for mankind with lips white with hate; of mercy now, but when it had the power, as in the French revolution, it proved that it had it not; it talks of honor, when its principles leave no reason for

its existence; of woman while it strips her of all real dignity and leaves her no more than a female animal; it talks of virtue, while in its code the word has no meaning. Spectre-like it moves down the ages with Christianity, gibbing and gibbering as monkeys in the equatorial regions bar and interrupt the advances of the civilized explorer. It enjoys the fruits of Christian civilization as the barnacle or parasite enjoys the vigorous health of a stronger organism, or as a tubercle lives on the human lungs. It is an intellectual disease."

Surely socialism is an intellectual disease! The mind becomes gangrene, there is no vitality left for a wholesome understanding of life. Abnormal things become the commonplace in their view; irrational principles are the ground floor of their sciences; while blasphemy takes the seat that should be occupied by Faith. Proceeding with an animal-humanism, that is indeed logically drawn from an atheistical premise, they pile up minutiae mountains high to smother the breath of right reason. Just as busy as the devil would have them, socialists work at the destruction of the belief in the sacred origin of the family. Yet every capable and sincere statesman knows that the God-ordained family which lasts as long as life lasts is the bulwark between our young republic and that abomination of desolation which divorce brings on apace. It were, no doubt, hard to find a less interested witness to the part played by Faith than the late Hon. Carroll D. Wright. We quote:

"Large and increasing as the number of divorces in the United States is, it is an undeniable fact that were it not for the wide-spread influence of the Roman Catholic Church the number would be much greater. The loyalty of Catholics to the teachings and doctrines of their Church, and the fact that one of the cardinal doctrines of the Church is that Christian marriage is a holy sacrament which, when consummated, can be dissolved for no cause and in no manner, save by death, has unquestionably served as a barrier to the volume of divorce which, except among the members of that church is, and during the past twenty years has been, assuming ever increasing proportions throughout the country." ("Marriage and Divorce," p. 122.)

Over against the stability of the family, made secure by the self-sacrifice of the faithful, is set the world-wide circulation of "The Origin of the Family." We quote (p. 79):

"Monogamy was the first form of the family not founded on natural, but on economic conditions, viz.: the victory of private property over primitive and natural collectivism."

In other words, Engels and Marx say that monogamy is not a natural form of the family, never has been.

Yet what should be *natural* to their philosophy if not the results of *economic determinism*? Truly, they have no Original Design rolling out to its ultimate purpose, nor no Divine Providence in control of the phenomena of the Cosmos. What then, should this pronouncement of Engels and Marx mean? Simply this, it is one of their ever present perverse contradictions—the cropping up of the inherent unreason of their system of thought, if it may be so dignified. Their perverse oppositions are meant to run parallel with the basic oppositions of natural phenomena, as light and darkness, mighty and little, long and short.

By denying that monogamy is a natural form of the family, they deny what is obviously the one only form that can be no further reduced, no further simplified. Hence the one pure, natural form of the family extant, reasoned, or ideally conceived.

But what is the belief instilled into the popular mind by this supposedly scientific denial of the monogamic as the natural family? Most assuredly that free love is the natural state of which men have been deprived.

What then is the practical import of this belief? Most assuredly also that the natural family shall return with the return to collectivism which is the natural form of holding property. The natural form of the family by the pronouncement of Engels and Marx is the communal herd. This is the long and the short of socialist doctrine regarding the sex relations.

Happily, this is in direct hostility to the revelative law, natural and supernatural. To declare that monogamy is not the natural form of the family is to deny that perfect design of the family which God created and to cast contempt upon religious truth. What God hath joined together let not man put asunder.

If socialists were to present a higher ideal, it certainly would be worthy of grave consideration. But the fact of the matter is, they present no form whatever; their program consists in the destruction of monogamy—the natural, inevitable form of the family, if there is to be one. This perfect ideal form

is imaged in the heart of every true man and pure woman, and it is not to be torn asunder by the vandal hand of irreligious, of unscientific philosophy.

Imagine the love scene in which you promise to be true to the love of your heart's desire until—well, perhaps the next moon.

Of course, if monogamy is the first form of the family founded upon unnatural conditions, one must conclude that the herding of men and women, the promiscuous, the punalunan, or the consanguin family was the natural form, founded upon natural conditions. But, having an *if* to start with, against which there is proof, we may drop this point as having no weight.

That economic conditions and economic ambitions play a part in the make-up of many marriages is well known. But that the monogamic family was founded upon property, as socialists assert, is quite a different proposition.

Socialists allege that the desire of man for "children that could be his offspring alone and were destined to be the heirs of his wealth" was the economic condition which introduced monogamy. No doubt many men have married for this reason. But what has that to do with the simple, patent fact that the natural family is one man, one woman and their child. Not the child of another man or woman, but these three persons that as a family are one. Whether the union of the man and the woman, which resulted in the establishment of the family, were from pure or from mixed or from impure motives, has nothing to do with the origin of the family, however greatly it have to do with the happiness of the family.

"Monogamy—does by no means enter history as a reconciliation of man and wife and still less as the highest form of marriage. On the contrary, it enters as the subjugation of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of an antagonism between the sexes unknown in all preceding history. In an old unpublished manuscript written by Marx and myself in 1846, I find the following passage: 'The first division of labor is that of man and wife in breeding children.' And to-day I may add: The first class antagonism appearing in history coincides with the development of the antagonism of man and wife in monogamy, and the first class oppression with that of the female by the male sex." ("Origin of the Family," page 79.)

Engels is right, "monogamy does not enter history as a reconciliation of man and wife." Monogamy enters history as the design of Almighty God in peopling the earth with his children. If the design be kept pure grace and happiness abound, but if the design be befouled

"Barren hate,
Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
The union of your bed with weeds so loathly
That you shall hate it both: therefore take heed,
As Hymen's lamps shall light you."

That man must earn his bread in the sweat of his brow we know, but that the bearing of children is work in the economic sense we deny. It brings a false philosophy to a point of disgust to say so. Though it should be expected that those who are seeking to establish an impossible equality between the sexes should mentally create oppositions that are not only absurd but an outrage against common sense.

"The modern monogamous family is founded on the open or disguised domestic slavery of women, and modern society is a mass composed of molecules in the form of monogamous families. In the great majority of cases the man has to earn a living and to support his family, at least among the possessing classes. He thereby obtains a superior position that has no need of any legal special privilege. In the family, he is the bourgeois, the woman represents the proletariat. In the industrial world, however, the specific character of the economic oppression weighing on the proletariat appears in its sharpest outlines only after all special privileges of the capitalist class are abolished and the full legal equality of both classes is established. A democratic republic does not abolish the distinction between the two classes. On the contrary, it offers the battleground on which this distinction can be fought out. Likewise the peculiar character of man's rule over woman in the modern family, the necessity and the manner of accomplishing the real social equality of the two, will appear in broad daylight only then, when both of them will enjoy complete legal equality. It will then be seen that the emancipation of women is primarily dependent on the reintroduction of the whole female sex into the public industries. To accomplish this, the monogamous family must cease to be the industrial unit of society." ("Origin of the Family," page 89.)

Engels and Marx bring ever from what purports to be an impartial analysis of industrial relations the same conclusion, viz., an attack upon the Christian family. Always the abnormal

usurps the place of the normal; here the emancipation of the whole female sex spells the degeneracy of the family; and when the monogamic family practically ceases to be the industrial unit, then the body politic itself were suffering in the last stages of degeneracy, for the people have no homes. Private property did not indeed institute the family, but it is the support and ever must be of the family. Family property being the natural—the necessary—unit of civil wealth, it should be evident that were the individual to be considered the economic unit of society the wage would become sufficient only for the support of the individual not for the support of the family. Hence the state cradles for homes would necessarily be out of date.

More's the pity! adding to the clamor of the socialists, world wide, the whole international woman suffrage movement cries shrilly for the "industrial freedom of women." With this term a great body of women, who have not enough to do to keep themselves out of mischief, accept the degradation proposed for the mothers of the race. The strident demand for votes for women, at the legislative hearing in the good old Bay State (1910) unblushingly backed up its cause with an argument anent the "trade of motherhood." Of course, that the state should be the employer of wifeless mothers and the keeper of fatherless children is in strict keeping with the teaching of Engels and Marx in "The Origin of the Family."

After dose after dose of *scientific* balderdash is given out, which only to the diseased intellect could seem possible or desirable, there is set forth a kind of history so outrageous as only the enemies of God know how to invent. We quote (pp. 85-86, "Origin of the Family"):

"Civil matrimony in our day is of two kinds. In Catholic countries, the parents provide a fitting spouse for their son as of old, and the natural consequence is the full development of the contradictions inherent to monogamy: voluptuous hetaerism on the man's part, voluptuous adultery of the woman. Probably the Catholic Church abolished divorce for the simple reason that it had come to the conclusion, there was as little help for adultery as for death. In Protestant countries, again, it is the custom to give the bourgeois son more or less liberty in choosing his mate. Hence a certain degree of love may be at the bottom of such a marriage and for the sake of propriety this is always assumed, quite in keeping with Protestant hypocrisy. In this case hetaerism is carried on less strenuously

and adultery on the part of the woman is not so frequent. But as human beings remain under any form of marriage what they were before marrying, and as the citizens of Protestant countries are mostly philistines, this Protestant monogamy on the average of the best cases confines itself to the community of a leaden ennui, labelled wedded bliss. The best mirror of these two species of marriage is the novel, the French novel for the Catholic, the German novel for the Protestant brand. In both of these novels they 'get one another;' in the German novel the man gets the girl, in the French novel the husband gets the horns. It does not always go without saying which of the two deserves the most pity. For this reason the tediousness of the German novels is abhorred as much by the French bourgeois as the 'immorality' of the French novels by the German philistine. Of late, since Berlin became cosmopolitan, the German novel begins to treat somewhat timidly of the hetaerism and adultery that a long time ago became familiar features of that city.

"In both cases the marriage is influenced by the class environment of the participants, and in this respect it always remains conventional. This conventionalism often enough results in the most pronounced prostitution—sometimes of both parties, more commonly of the woman. She is distinguished from a courtesan only in that she does not offer her body for money by the hour like a commodity, but sells it into slavery for once and all. Fourier's words hold good with respect to all conventional marriage: 'As in grammar two negatives make one affirmative, so in matrimonial ethics, two prostitutions are considered as one virtue.' Sexual love in man's relation to woman becomes and can become the rule among the oppressed classes alone, among the proletarians of our day—no matter whether this relation is officially sanctioned or not."

No! This is not a chapter taken bodily from a French novel, it is rather the leperous intellect crying unclean! unclean! in spite of its own protest to be thought whole. Yet save the forefending flame of the Holy Ghost burn off the deadly stench of its breath, there is danger even to the mind of one who passes by with lingering glances from afar off.

The last sentence quoted is of striking import. Its study shall show why socialist colonies have proved failures. As the only authority is self-constituted, one man's opinion is as good as another, so the passions of the men break through the economic schemes they have themselves established for their own benefit. Finally, the most authoritative man takes anarchistic charge of the industrial affairs. Meanwhile the familiarity of the sexes is the chief cause of their social disruption. In the absence of authority, sacred or secular, to maintain the family integrity of which there is more or less pretense, so

it is that the basic elements of their philosophy—"bread and love" when reduced to their naked application, quickly bring social order to grief.

And, too, the study of this one note shall show how it happens that the power of the mob, as at Barcelona, falls under the direction of socialist leadership. Those men "who have nothing to loose but their chains, and a world to gain," are made to believe what they want to believe, namely, that the rule for them is to do what they please, having no regard for what Church or state may say.

Why so bold? Because they themselves shall soon be in possession of the public power; and by that time the moral, the ecclesiastical power of the Church shall have been thrown to the dogs. Thus at once is said good riddance to the crack of the policeman's club and to the fears of hell.

Moreover, the lust for irresponsible power is whetted by the pride of ignorance, and both let go together. For the SCIENCE OF LIFE is made easy and becomes the cock-sure possession of men who hardly know a big B from a little broom-stick. The recent standard bearer of the red flag in New York boasts that this is so. We quote (*The Call*, 5-31-1911):

"To-day we have two dailies and a host of weekly socialist papers all interpreting socialism, revolutionary Marxian socialism, to the plain people, the people whose vocabulary does not go above 2,500 to 3,000 words, We surely have reason to be satisfied with our progress."

That bigotry by "law established" was not the shake of a stick to that being evolved by the socialist press. And just as when our dear Lord walked upon the earth doing good, the evil spirits never failed to give their hateful testimony to His Divine power, so now does the evil genius of socialism give its testimony that the "black international" is the one formidable defense of the *present order*.

A fine term this!—*the present order*. Not the work of the 'prentice but of the practiced hand. For the *present order* is not Christian civilization disfigured though it be with the ugly scars of vice. No, the "present order" replaces the nation whose authority is from God. It is but that "evolutionary state" consistent with socialist principles, namely, that the

interests of private property hold the dominant place, while the interests of human life hold the secondary place in the affairs of man. The whole significance of socialist propaganda is lost if the student drops this fact out of his reckoning, at any point. Yet, though their vision distorts all things, socialists know very well that religion is the bulwark of the family and that the family is the bulwark of the state. Hence their simultaneous attack upon these three institutions—the Church, government, marriage.

To make still clearer the fact that the propagation of socialist doctrine in itself constitutes a family pest we shall show in contrast the standards of that world-wide Faith, which numbers over 230,000,000 members, which for centuries has stood as an impregnable fortress in the promotion of and in the defence of the monogamic family, against which the attacks of men and of governments alike have beat in vain.

From "Catholic Belief," by the Very Rev. Joseph Faá Di Bruno, D.D., bearing the Imprimatur of John Cardinal McCloskey and Henricus Edwardus, Card. Archiep. Westmonast, we quote:

"Matrimony, or marriage, is the conjugal union of a man and a woman who are naturally and legally fit to marry.

"It has been raised by Christ to the dignity of a sacrament, and is a bond to be dissolved only by death.

"The marriage state has many responsibilities, many difficulties to meet, many burdens to bear, and many temptations to overcome.

"It is the teaching of the Church that legitimate matrimony between baptized persons can never be a mere contract, but it is also always a sacrament. Though not defined as a point of faith, it is more generally held that the ministers of this sacrament are the contracting parties themselves, when by word or outward signs they mutually accept each other as husband and wife.

"The words which the priest pronounces upon the contracting parties—'I join you together in matrimony, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' are only intended to acknowledge and solemnly ratify the sacred engagement just effected by the contracting parties. The other prayers which he recites afterwards serve to implore more abundant blessings upon the couple just married.

"Hence it follows that both parties ought to be in a state of grace when they contract the sacrament of marriage, for two reasons, 1st, because they themselves administer the sacrament, and secondly, because they receive the sacrament,

"As the union of Christ with the Church cannot be broken, so the bond between husband and wife is indissoluble. There is no cause that can justify, or power upon earth that can authorize the breaking of a legal and true marriage-bond between Christians after the marriage has been consummated.

"Separation, except by mutual consent, is forbidden. For grave reasons, it is sometimes permitted to the innocent party to live separately, but this separation would only improperly be called divorce, as in such case the marriage-bond is not broken, and neither party can marry again during the lifetime of the other; if ever, therefore, the word divorce is used, it is understood to mean only a *separation from bed and board*; but *divorce*, properly and strictly so called, in the sense that a divorced person may re-marry during the lifetime of his or her respective partner, is forbidden by the Law of God: and there is no reason that can justify, or authority on earth that can sanction it.

"Society in general, and Catholics especially, ought to be most thankful to Jesus Christ for having established this inviolable sanctity of marriage, by which numberless scandals, family strife and miseries, are prevented, family happiness more universally secured, and the weaker sex and children greatly protected.

"If in some particular case this law may happen to be burdensome, especially to persons who have not been wanting either in prudence in the choice they made, or in justice and kindness towards their partners, this hardship to the few is small compared with the immense good derived from this law by society at large.

"The sufferer must not on account of his special grief revolt against God, but bear patiently this, like any other trouble, and adore the general dispensation of the Creator and Lord of nature."

We further supply some historic data from the pen of James Cardinal Gibbons in "The Faith of our Fathers."

MATRIMONY.

"The Catholic Church, following the light of the Gospel, forbids a divorced man to enter into second espousals during the life of his former partner. This is the inflexible law she first proclaimed in the face of Pagan emperors and people, and which she has ever upheld, in spite of the passions and voluptuousness of her own rebellious children."

"Henry VIII, once an obedient son and defender of the Church, conceived, in an evil hour, a criminal attachment for Anne Boleyn, a lady of the queen's household, whom he desired to marry after being divorced from his lawful consort, Catherine of Aragon. But Pope Clement VII, whose sanction he solicited, sternly refused to ratify the separation, though the Pontiff could have easily foreseen that his determined action would involve the Church in persecution, and a whole nation in the unhappy schism of its ruler. Had the Pope acquiesced in the repudiation

of Catherine, and in the marriage of Anne Boleyn, England would, indeed, have been spared to the Church, but the Church herself would have surrendered her peerless title of Mistress of Truth.

"When Napoleon I repudiated his devoted wife, Josephine, and married Marie Louise, of Austria, so well assured was he of the fruitlessness of his attempt to obtain from the Holy See the sanction of his divorce and subsequent marriage, that he did not even consult the Holy Father on the subject.

"A few years previously, Napoleon appealed to Pius VII to annul the marriage which his brother Jerome had contracted with Miss Patterson of Baltimore. The Pope sent the following reply to the Emperor: 'Your majesty will understand that upon the information thus far received by us, it is not in our power to pronounce a sentence of nullity. We cannot utter a judgment in opposition to the rules of the Church, and we could not, without laying aside those rules, decree the invalidity of a union which according to the Word of God, no human power can sunder.'

A sure defence is the Mistress of Truth for the home that is founded upon the monogamic family—the bed rock natural family; and a powerful foe to the family is the socialist propaganda. Kindly pay attention to what the fathers of socialism—Marx and Engels—have to say as to what may be anticipated about the re-adjustment of sexual relations after the downfall of capitalism:

"We are now approaching a social revolution, in which the old economic foundations of monogamy will disappear just as surely as those of its complement, prostitution. Monogamy arose through the concentration of considerable wealth in one hand—a man's hand—and from the endeavor to bequeath this wealth to the children of this man to the exclusion of all others. This necessitated monogamy on the woman's, but not on the man's part. Hence this monogamy of women in no way hindered open or secret polygamy of men. Now the impending social revolution will reduce this whole care of inheritance to a minimum by changing at least the overwhelming part of permanent and inheritable wealth—the means of production—into social property. Since monogamy was caused by economic conditions, will it disappear when these causes are abolished?" ("Origin of the Family," page 91.)

Is not this sufficiently explicit? That being caused by economic conditions, when the conditions are abolished the foundation and support of the family no longer exist. What then is the purpose of the socialist movement if it be not that of putting private property and the monogamic family out of existence. This two-fold purpose has the further consequence

involved: upon coming into possession of the public power of these United States the abolition of private property, is not only intended to destroy the family life of this great nation, but also to destroy the nation itself. Hence, sifted to the bottom, the issue is without confusion. Every man standing at the ballot box must ask himself: Shall I vote, giving the public power into the hands of the enemies of my country, or for a party standing for civil probity?

Socialist assumptions are so plainly gratuitous! Their questioning so *naïve*! All the rock which their stupendous claim has to rest upon is *since*. Since monogamy was not caused by economic conditions it does not change with the change in economic conditions. And so consequently it will not be abolished however many economic causes (or results either) may be abolished by socialists or by anybody else. Being a Divine institution, having already withstood the change of the three great industrial epochs, it shall last until the human race perish from off the face of the earth. This is God's word to man, not man's word to men. Christians have right reason, natural revelation and God's promise in its favor; the other ill-will, absurd premise and wild conclusion for its support. Yet this is not saying that pandemonium may not be let loose in this country; or that our own Columbia shall reign her thousand years. Though it is saying that it were a crime against national honor to permit socialism, on the votes of the mob, to swing into power.

Of course it would be correct to say that we are approaching a social upheaval in which monogamy shall disappear if the socialist parties gain control of the civic power throughout the civilized world and should socialist philosophy completely dominate men's minds. But God is not mocked!

The contempt in which marriage is held by socialists is displayed in the following low-lived statement, taken from "The Origin of the Family" (p. 39)—the book that is shaping the thought of hundreds of thousands. For not alone does its influence reach the readers of this "classic," but its psychology filters down to the rank and file of the movement. We quote:

"And if strict monogamy is the height of virtue, then the palm belongs to the tapeworm that carries a complete male and female sexual apparatus

in each of its 50 to 200 sections and passes its whole lifetime in fertilizing itself in every one of its sections."

Surely this is disgustingly suggestive enough to carry its abnormal purpose to the most unlettered of the proletarians. While its only excuse for being here is that it shall be publicly known how far beyond the limits of decent imagery socialists carry their propaganda in favor of free love. Certainly it were necessary for public safety, that it be known what are the instructions, supposedly scientific, that are shaping the sentiments, aye, the convictions of an irresponsible host, gathering in larger numbers than ever before. We quote further:

"With the transformation of the means of production into collective property the monogamous family ceases to be the economic unit of society. The private household changes to a social industry. The care and education of children becomes a public matter. Society cares equally well for all children, legal or illegal. This removes the care about the 'consequences' which now forms the essential social factor—moral and economic—hindering a girl to surrender unconditionally to the beloved man. Will not this be sufficient cause for a gradual rise of a more unconventional intercourse of the sexes and a more lenient public opinion regarding virgin honor and female shame? And, finally, did we not see that in the modern world monogamy and prostitution, though antitheses, are inseparable and poles of the same social condition? Can prostitution disappear without engulfing at the same time monogamy?" ("Origin of the Family," pp. 91-92.)

Engels and Marx, the highest possible authority in socialist literature, have let the cat well out of the bag, not even the tip of her mangy tail is concealed. And in face of this doctrine, officially endorsed and circulated most freely, which outrages all the laws of God and man, the Socialist Party Platform has the affrontery to declare that:

"It—socialism—is not concerned with matters of religious belief."

With Catholics marriage is a sacrament, hence a vital part of religious belief. And yet, God save the mark! there are "Catholic socialists."

Here then, the fathers of the *modern revolution*, have set forth in plain view what may be expected as the practice of the socialist society relative to sex relation.

1st—When the capital of the country is owned by the people collectively the present form of the family ceases.

This is skilful, it shakes off the moral responsibility of abolishing the family by covertly denying moral responsibility.

2d—The private household, the home, becomes a social industry (whatever that may mean). Being no families, communal relations take their place. That is to say, a “free family” will be in evidence. No domestic love! No mother’s love! No father’s care!

3d—Society will care for all children, “legal and illegal.” “Legal” children evidently refers to the possibility of one pair of the human animals breeding more than one child. For the destruction of all law relating to the “administration of persons” having long since taken place, children cannot rightly be said to be legal or illegal. Marriage being sunken in the social cesspool, all the words of moral import will have passed into oblivion.

4th—Children will be fatherless. Possibly they may, in years to come, be told who their mother was—but it is not likely.

5th—The *consequences* which a girl now encounters should she enter into illegitimate sex relationship will be abolished. Consequently sexual intercourse will be unconventional—like flies which cross themselves in the air.

6th—Virgin honor and female shame will gradually disappear and later become extinct phenomena, because of economic progress, don’t you know?

7th—Monogamy and prostitution will disappear. For, say Engels and Marx, are they not the result of the same social conditions? Certainly not! They mistake the stage of enactment for the cause of the actions. Monogamy and prostitution are both in evidence within the present society. But one is caused by obedience to the law of God and the other is caused by disobedience to Divine law—socialist philosophy to the contrary notwithstanding.

8th—Then comes the negative of the question, put negatively, of course. Can prostitution disappear without engulfing monogamy? The meaning is, and it may be brought out in Yankee fashion by asking another question, can monogamy

disappear without engulfing the distinction which exists between it and prostitution? It cannot. When there is no marriage there are no wives; where there are no wives there are no homes; when there are no homes there are no families, and this were the much contemplated "new society"—the socialist herd. Hence of human-animalism it were quite beside the point to inquire into its several degrees of sex freedom or for the preponderance of the lust of the flesh over that of gold, or even for the strongest and longest bond of sex fondness. No doubt, the degradation would be so deep that not even the most highly erotic mind would be interested in the speculation. Though here and now, while the race is kept sane by God-loving and law-fearing men and women, socialist imagination, dubbed investigation for weight of influence, has given itself a freer rein. A "new element" from no-where is to come in to regulate *mutual fondness*:

"Here a new element becomes active, an element which at best existed only in the germ at the time when monogamy developed: individual sex love." ("Origin of the Family," p. 92.)

"Hence the full freedom of marriage can become general only after all minor economic considerations, that still exert such a powerful influence on the choice of a mate for life, have been removed by the abolition of capitalistic production and of the property relations caused by it. Then no other motive will remain but mutual fondness." (p. 98.)

A state of grace is thereafter an anachronism, while the word marriage has another significance. It shall not mean the foundation of a family; not the mating for life. Though if mutual fondness should in any given cases prove the "new element" to be strong enough to last, there would, perhaps, be no objection to its permanence. Just what words shall be substituted for the love of husband and wife, for children and of home "mutual fondness" has not yet thrown up on the shores of *economic determinism*. But it is certain that the "new element" shall throw women upon the dirt heap, while men are still free to wallow in the mire of mutual fondness—of sex degradation.

Words which bring a stench to the nostrils alone suffice to paint the sea of corruption which the socialist philosophy, by the use of the political power, would launch our ship of state upon.

Socialist philosophy is a curious phenomenon, it denies the limitless—God—and yet it offers excess, for its liberty is without restraint and its lawlessness without limitation. We quote:

"What we may anticipate about the adjustment of sexual relations after the impending downfall of capitalist production is mainly of a negative nature and mostly confined to elements that will disappear. But what will be added? That will be decided after a new generation has come to maturity; a race of men who never in their lives have had any occasion for buying with money or other economic means of power the surrender of a woman; a race of women who have never had any occasion for surrendering to any man for any other reason but love, or for refusing to surrender to their lover from fear of economic consequences. Once such people are in the world, they will not give a moment's thought to what we to-day believe should be their course. They will follow their own practice and fashion their own public opinion about the individual practice of every person—only this and nothing more." ("Origin of the Family," p. 109.)

However anarchism may differ as to its economic theories the predicted society of socialism were surely as "free" as Emma Goldman herself could paint it. Though it may be noted that anarchists never make any pretence that their doctrine is not hostile to religion, while *The Worker* says that the translation of this book of Engels and Marx is "as necessary as it is belated" for the propagation of socialist doctrine; and while the ink of this assault upon the sacrament of marriage is still wet on its page flourishing its wounded innocence, *The Worker* challenges Bishop Quigley to produce one word of evidence in socialist literature hostile to religion. Yet it is not only the moral law that must be abrogated to make way for the social degeneracy, the state too must be a thing archaic. We quote further:

"However, those peculiarities that were stamped on the face of monogamy by its rise through property relations, will decidedly vanish, namely, the supremacy of men and the indissolubility of marriage. The supremacy of man in marriage is simply the consequence of his economic superiority and will fall with the abolition of the latter.

"The indissolubility of marriage is partly the consequence of economic conditions, under which monogamy arose, partly tradition from the time where the connection between this economic situation and monogamy, not yet clearly understood, was carried to extremes by religion. To-day

it has been perforated a thousand times. If marriage founded on love is alone moral, then it follows that marriage is moral only as long as love lasts. The duration of an attack of individual sex love varies considerably according to individual disposition, especially in men. A positive cessation of fondness or its replacement by a new passionate love makes a separation a blessing for both parties and for society. But humanity will be spared the useless wading through the mire of a divorce case." ("Origin of the Family," p. 99.)

In a most flattering four column review of this book, *The Worker*, Dec. 21, 1902, uses the above quotation in full. One could easily have found these words against religion—for the advocacy of free love is most hostile to Christian Faith. Yet, here is no martyr to consistency; *The Worker* is well aware that brazen impudence, not truth, is the best maker of socialist converts. That it be and be not hostile to religion is the tactical course deliberately pursued by socialist propaganda. For it is certain that religion still holds sway over a multitude of the people who must be reached and converted; so, of course, these will not take the *third degree* at once, only after a slow preparation by confusion on vital issues, with an exaggerated emphasis and extravagant sympathy placed upon matters of economic injustice, which in truth should gravely concern all right minded men. This is the course by which time is gained to replace confidence in the Ten Commandments with a bewildered opinion that Christianity has somehow served its day and must now give place to a higher product of evolution, which bewilderment finally hardens into socialist dogmas that are exactly hostile to right reason, to general experience, and to religion.

Under socialism the indissolubility of marriage will vanish. Indeed! How else? For under socialism marriage itself were unknown.

Socialism postulates that marriage and divorce are both evolved by economic conditions, except where monogamy has been "carried to extremes by religion." That is to say, socialists assert that the safeguarding of the family by religion has been an abnormal demonstration. We submit this matter to the women of America; and we are sure that they will stand with good Queen Katherine.

With the negative twist given to logic, "socialist minds" would show that ecclesiastical law must fall. For love, asserts religion, is the basis of marriage. Then to be moral, say these logicians, marriage should last only so long as love lasts. But the difference is as far as foul black is from pure white in the connotation of the word love. Religion would write lust where the socialist cult writes love. How long will socialist love last? Why, until "sex fondness" has exhausted its force. "The duration of an attack of individual sex love varies considerably according to individual disposition." When the sex flame is burnt out "its replacement by a new passionate love makes a separation a blessing." Blessing? A strange word in the mouth of an atheist! A blessing comes by the grace of God, not by the glare of sex flames. It would be more fitting were socialists to say that separation stimulates sex depravity, for it gives the next opportunity to indulge a new "sex love." Science will be unhindered by moral responsibility, for "humanity will be spared the useless wading through the mire of a divorce case." In place of American homes this is the condition *anticipated* by the fathers, adhered to for sixty years by the promoters and ardently propagated by the socialist women of to-day. An editorial in the Special Woman's Day Edition (*The New York Call*, 2-27-1910), we quote:

What Every Woman Ought To Know.

"Woman, to fight effectively for her freedom, ought to know exactly how the present relations between men and women came into being. Never was a great movement so sadly handicapped by historical ignorance as is the woman suffrage movement of to-day. Socialist women have a splendid field for educational work in the suffrage camp. *The one book that contains in small compass 'what every woman ought to know' is Frederic Engels' 'The Origin of the Family.'* Every socialist woman should become a book agent to sell this book."

Yet more influential still in spreading as historically correct what is not true regarding *the origin of the family*, are the efforts of those socialist women who have a wide reputation with the general public. What a vast new field for the intellectual propaganda of the vile stuff from socialist pens has not Vida D. Scudder opened up by her article *Socialism and Sacrifice* in the

Atlantic. The altruists of the country have never been so appealed to, so stimulated to imbibe a psychology that is all too powerful to be resisted save only by those minds made competent by the severest intellectual training in the discovery of the ground of reason and in the processes of logical thinking. How many even of the *Atlantic* readers are thus equipped?

Yet more pertinent, perhaps, is the question: shall any of the young women at Wellesley (where Miss Scudder is professor of history) escape the baleful influence of the deadly hostility of socialist literature to the family and to the church? Especially when Professor Scudder slides gracefully from radical authors well accepted by the acknowledged culture of the country to the forceful recommendation of the great chiefs of the modern revolution. Yet, however sincerely Miss Scudder's modernism is seated in a vivid imagination, and however fluently the words of a Christian vocabulary are forced in requisition for the adoration of that impious thing *economic determinism*, her work should be recognized as potent in the destruction of the body politic. For that "holy city of social justice" which these "militant spirits" are determined to build shall prove upon the carrying out of their socialist principles to be none other than a state of bestial humanism. Not the clean, wholesome state of the non-moral beasts of the field, but instead, that pestering, fuming, sweltering condition which only the fire of earth and the love of heaven can cleanse. We quote from the *Atlantic* (June, 1910):

"Tolstoi, Ruskin and the others are on the wrong track, except in so far as, being men of their own times, they have half-unconsciously been forced to think in terms of reality. Close the books of these gentlemen! Open your Engels, your Jaures, your Bebel, and realize with refreshment and repose that here at least we are in the presence of minds free from sentimentality, and at grip with the actual facts of social progress."

None the less wide is the pernicious influence, however good their intentions, of a dozen other women though upon different fields. At the Inter-collegiate dinner (as reported by *The New York Call*, Jan. 1, 1911), Mrs. Florence Kelly

"scored the socialist press for not urging its readers to see to it that socialistic books are to be found in every library. There are some 4,000 libraries, she said, in the United States. They could easily be made to

buy every important book on socialism. This alone would dispose of 4,000 copies of every important socialist publication and would be of tremendous educational value."

Of course, Mrs. Kelly is aware that one is counted out by advanced-thought, by progressive-circles, save one is more or less in sympathy with the socialist movement. And in the cultivation of this border land Mrs. Kelly is a past master. If the people living on this vast territory were able to discriminate between Christian democracy and the proposals of socialism, why then, all were safe from the socialist agitator however skillful, but unhappily the knowledge of the great Leo is not their possession.

Speaking in Boston, not long since, so great was Mrs. Kelly's ardor for the socialization of the domestic industries that she was carried so beyond the limits of good judgment as to say that she had never yet seen a New England mother, much as they are idealized, capable of bringing up her daughters; Mrs. Kelly's conclusion being that the state should give domestic training in the schools. We must confess to much amazement that the entire audience so far forgot the service of their mothers and the honor due to them as to applaud this insult put upon the home training in favor of a socialistic cook shop, for Huntington Hall is supposed to gather the most studious audiences of New England culture. This is given as a fair example in proof that public women not exactly known as belonging to the socialist movement are yet its most effective propagandists in breaking up the belief in the necessity of maintaining the home.

The settlement workers, with Jane Addams in the lead, although they are taking much pains to create a better material environment for the poor, are doing much at the same time to create that public sentiment within which free love comes upon the scene as a natural topic. So it is that directly by socialists, and indirectly as sociological workers, every avenue is worked with a zest that is a close counterfeit of genuine religious zeal. By persons from all classes, upon all grounds at once, the revolutionists and their allies are closing in upon the integrity of the nation by the advocacy of free love.

So also it is that the defense of the monogamic—the Christian family—should be set up on every available ground by persons

from all classes. Of course the religious defense is primary, the strongest of all. Yet the scientific, the natural, defense is so strong that when radically set forth it shall compel assent from all minds save those that are perverse.

This is glorious ground, too, in defense of the sound reason inherent in the Sacrament of Marriage, by which Free Love is utterly condemned. Because the natural family, the monogamic family is in itself sufficient to maintain and carry forward the race, it is the one only *necessary* family. As it is the lowest terms to which the propagation of the race may be reduced, hence all other forms are departures from this basic structure of the human race. Consequently as all other forms are departures from this basic structure they are mixed forms, not the pure form, and so by right reason they must be set down as lower in order than the monogamic family, which is at once the lowest terms to which the race itself can be reduced, and at the same time the highest, the perfect type, as nothing can be purer. No man can dispute the fact that one husband, one wife and their children present an absolutely unmixed type of family.

With this basic type of family the Christian religion is in perfect harmony. Indeed the natural family supernaturally elevated is the family of the Faithful.

But to those persons who insist that not religion but science has the last word to say, here are the facts of natural phenomena. They are not to be gainsaid, for necessity, neither more nor less, stands with the monogamic family.

The monogamic family holds not alone the one impregnable fort of science, but also that of philosophy—of pure reason. This primary form of the family is ingrain in the warp and woof of the male and female body, upon the sufficient cause that unsupported by any other it is alone able to maintain and carry forward the race. It is the competent explanation of a socialist phenomenon that puzzles the academic mind of the utilitarian type. Why should some socialists propagate free love as they do and still hold out as the ultimate ideal to be realized in the far away future the permanent pair? Their philosophy being perverse must double upon itself within a sane mind. For the reason that nature in her sanity is stronger than the individual's

sanity, his mental poise may give way, but God's Providence never does.

Socialism has it that the form of the family changes in conformity with the alleged epochal economic structure of human society. Yet nature protects her designs by an impact upon the consciousness stronger than the theory which is merely man made.

The monogamic family is compelling to the scientific mind, however false his philosophy may be, for the simple reason that the finite mind cannot create an ideal so pure as the perfect design of the Infinite Mind. So it is that God is not mocked; His truth operates with a strength that false theories have not, while its beauty is triumphantly above any form that man has made for himself. The monogamic family is so transcendently above any possible form that man can imagine, that perforce, even men whose practical teachings wreak with the filth of free love, are constrained to relieve her natural sanity by the notion that when the "social organism" shall have perfected itself by evolution after evolution, permanent pairing shall be realized—no man can guess that time.

Yet as it should be expected here is a deadly error in association with truth. For wisdom is aware that so long as men shall live on the face of the earth perfection en masse shall be unknown. This is at once the courage and confidence of the normal individual. But under the socialist philosophy the individual should be powerless, for he cannot live the ideal life before the due socialist time which no man knows. While to the Christian the ideal life is within the reach of all who will discipline themselves to that happy state.

Aye, God's will is done by individuals not by the mob, only as each man of the mob obeys the law. And yet so powerful is the influence of social environment upon the character of the individual that science instructs and religion commands us to work at once for the purity of ourselves and for the purity of our environment.

Homeless Children.

"Look how he laughs and stretches out his arms,
And opens wide his blue eyes upon thine,
To hail his father: while his little form
Flutters as wing'd with joy. Talk not of pain!
The childless cherubs well might envy thee
The pleasures of a parent."

BYRON.

THE children? Yes, poor things, no doubt there shall be a measly lot of them under the "new régime," but all shall be orphaned. The community is to be the father and mother of them all. The home having been absorbed by the "household industries," all the infants shall be turned out to grass in the pasture on the baby farms. For it should be realized that when women have achieved "sex freedom" domestic industry shall have been divided up into "social trades."

As a preparation for this great change from home to the social barracks and the infant farm, the children of to-day are to be educated in the "Socialist Sunday School."

Since history was writ it has been recognized that the early teachings set the seal to the future character of the man. Hence the command, Honor thy father and mother in the days of thy youth. Hence also the care with which religious principles are instilled into the child's mind by devotedly religious parents. Nothing is so important as this.

By destroying the belief in God, socialism fondly believes that it can destroy God,—and the superstition of religion. Hence it is requisite, from the socialist point of view, to blot out the ground of moral recognition in order to prepare the mind for taking hold of socialist philosophy and practice. So for the double purpose—first of preventing the children of socialists from receiving religious instruction on Sunday, as would be somewhat likely to happen, and second, for the purpose of instilling the materialistic doctrine of socialism into the children's minds, socialist Sunday-schools are organized throughout the world,

The Glasgow Socialist Sunday-School Union publishes a monthly magazine, *The Young Socialist*. In the *Aims and Objects* the movement sets forth its views:

"As the sea's tumult affects and moulds the pebbles on the shore, so current conceptions of Society affect the teaching and outlook of those not yet beyond the borders of life. The importance of capturing the child mind has been recognized by the Churches, and Sunday Schools are common all over the country. It is time that socialists also realized the far reaching effects of early impressions on the youthful mind, and rallied to the work of organizing and spreading socialist Sunday Schools. Such schools have been started in various parts of the country. Their basis is unsectarian. The teaching given deals with the economic causes of present day social evils, while a love of goodness is implanted by all reasonable means. The object aimed at is to guide the child's mind and activities, so that the socialist convictions may be built up naturally and firmly, that there may not be a great deal to unlearn in later life.

"Socialists should, in the interests of their children, take their full part in starting and supporting schools for many reasons. Children are taught contrary to the wishes of socialist parents at ordinary Sunday Schools, so cannot wisely be sent there. They learn comparatively little merely running about and, if taken to meetings of grown-up socialists, the lectures are not suited to their years and knowledge. The only way out is to encourage, by all means, the growth of socialist Sunday Schools."

It is certain that if children are taught in socialist Sunday-schools, their belief in God shall be nil, and that to unlearn the belief in God, gives a vast deal of trouble, as no half-way house can be found, for the weaklings to rest within, between the two schools of philosophy, which are as old as the hills.

Like everything else, philosophy has its three dimensions. Nor width, nor depth may come before length, if right reason shall be set up. So any other order than God first, my eternal self second and all things else third, is philosophy out of order—thinking on a foundation of chaos.

It is innocent, to say the least, to parade as unsectarian, that Sunday-school whose avowed purpose is to pour into children's minds, in diluted doses, the "class-conscious socialist doctrine." The Socialist Sunday-school is a strictly sectarian organization. It is an atheist Sunday-school, and nothing but the atheistic doctrine may consistently be taught there.

The socialists of many cities in this country, taking pattern after their comrades across the water have been busily

engaged in starting these schools. They have been especially active during the past two years. Several of the socialist papers have what is known as a children's column, for spreading this work.

The Socialist Sunday-school Union of New York, issued a statement which shows plainly that blasphemy is full blown. Not any sort of recognition of a creator of the Cosmos is allowed, but only a territorial god remains to be attacked. We quote:

"The aim and purpose of these schools is double, viz.: The destructive work of tearing down old superstitious ideas of territorial patriotism, fixed ideas and ideals on matters in general and working class in particular, and the constructive work of preparing the future citizen for the co-operative commonwealth by giving them unbiased, scientific facts concerning the development of society from its primitive condition to its present industrial status of civilization." (*The Wage Slave*, Hancock, Mich. 1-1-1909.)

It may seem difficult to teach these purposes to children, but *The Little Socialist* does not find it so, as this excerpt from July, 1909, will show:

"We should not have any rulers. We should not allow any one to govern us. So long as we fear anyone, so long that one will be a bully and a tyrant."

This general order for disobedience to authority—parental, civic, moral—is followed up in Oct., 1909, by more specific instructions. The children should follow the example of the Quakers

"who would not swear or support the government . . . for the flag does not stand for justice and freedom for all . . ."

Editorially, in the same issue, the children are instructed to despise and to insult not only the flag, but the President of the United States. Also to set up a juvenile court to condemn diplomatic acts; and to speak impudently to their teacher:

"Taft grasped the Czar of Russia's hand. We hope none of you shook hands with Taft. Tell your teacher you despise Taft for being friendly to a bloody tyrant."

Certainly a prolific crop of degenerate citizens should be expected. Especially when atheism, treason and insolence are followed up by the history that teaches:

"Washington was a contemptible and unscrupulous liar." (*The Little Socialist*, Feb. 10, 1910.)

In a two-column article, *The Worker* (3-7-1908), explains Why Socialist Sunday-schools are an important part of the propaganda and what they should strive to accomplish:

"There are many men and women to-day who are earnestly and fervently patriotic in the bourgeois sense. The Star Spangled Banner makes them thrill with emotion. They will shed tears over the story of the true-hearted lad who left his sweetheart to obey his country's call, and died while trying to save the colors. Every socialist knows that all these stories and songs are some of the means that the ruling class uses to cultivate a feeling of national patriotism, and that so long as such a feeling exists among many people their supremacy is safe.

"In a socialist school a feeling of international patriotism will be aroused. The children will be made to feel that the workingmen of all nations are brothers. They have a common enemy—capitalism. They have a common aim—its overthrow.

"Socialist schools should be founded in as many places as possible, to counteract the influences of the churches, synagogues, and public schools. This is the negative side of the work. More important still is the positive side of appealing to the children's heart and imaginations and teaching them how to live. Working class children should have working class hearts and minds."

There should be no delusion as to the fact that "Capitalism" as a socialist term stands not for the graft and greed that are a disgrace to our civilization, but that Christian civilization itself is meant by the term. Consequently there is to be cultivated in the *hearts* and *minds* of the working-class those thoughts and those emotions, those words and those deeds, best suited to the destruction of the Christian church, that the downfall of the *present order* may be accomplished. And although the gates of hell shall not prevail against the church militant, God's promise does not extend to the preservation of this country which our dearly beloved Cardinal considers

"one of the most precious heirlooms ever bestowed on mankind down the ages and that it is the duty, and should be the delight of every citizen to strengthen and perpetuate our government by the observance of its laws and by the integrity of his private life. 'Righteousness,' says the Book of Proverbs, 'exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to the people.'"

The organization of A Socialist Sunday-school Union in connection with the Rand School of New York, has shifted the centre of this pernicious activity from Chicago, where it was located a decade ago, to our sea-board metropolis. The N. Y. State Committee having in charge this division of propaganda, lays down the qualifications expected of the teachers in *The Call* (Sunday 9-18-1910), together with a list of books for authorities that the teacher may be sure of that one essential,—“the true conception of the socialist point of view.” Kautsky’s “Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History” is one of the books especially recommended. We present an excerpt from the book that the socialist point of view may be seen in contrast to the Ten Commandments:

“What is specifically human in morality, the moral codes, is subject to continual change. This does not prove, all the same, that a class or social group can not be immoral; it proves simply that so far at least as the moral standards are concerned, there is just as little an absolute morality as an absolute immorality. Even the immorality is in this respect a relative idea. Only the lack of more social impulses and virtues, which man has inherited from the social animals, is to be regarded as absolute immorality.

“ . . . It is thus nonsense to declare particular moral principles of any people or class, which are recognized as such, to be immoral simply because they contradict our moral code. Immorality can never be more than a deviation from our own moral code, never from a strange one.” (pp. 192-93.)

Socialist instruction in its Sunday-school, as elsewhere, begins without beginning and never arrives anywhere; it merely is “going some.” The system of *going* without beginning or ending, is made known to the infant mind in the lesson (*Chicago Socialist*, 7-11-1903), on the Inorganic and Organic Worlds. Each living thing is explained as a product of past environment; a part of the first thing remaining a part of the second, with something added. Evidently where the first thing came from, or where the added part came from, is no concern of anybody.

Here we find the socialist key with which to unlock their atheistic Sunday-school door. The school through whose agency the child is to be taught that he owes his existence to past environment, that he has been evolved from what Engels calls his “fish ancestors.” That probably the *pithecanthropus erectus*

was his first upright forefather. Hence his environment,—not he himself is responsible for his character. Hence, also, some day, a long way off, when “economic determinism” shall have forced into the hands of the working class the tools of production there will be evolved a “social will,” which will be “free.” Then and not until then shall the individual man be morally responsible for his own acts. God is a myth which must fade away under the scientific teaching of socialism. There is no command upon the socialist Sunday-school scholars to love God; to honor and obey their parents. No command to walk humbly before God and to keep His laws.

Consequently socialist Sunday-school teaching is in direct contradiction with right reason, as may be illustrated by its contrast with a lesson from the Catechism:

“Q. WHO MADE THE WORLD?

A. God made the world.

Q. WHO IS GOD?

A. God is the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things.

Q. WHAT IS MAN?

A. Man is a creature composed of body and soul, and made to the image and likeness of God.

Q. IS THIS LIKENESS IN THE BODY OR IN THE SOUL?

A. This likeness is chiefly in the soul.

Q. HOW IS THE SOUL LIKE TO GOD?

A. The soul is like God because it is a spirit that will never die, and has understanding and free will.

Q. WHY DID GOD MAKE YOU?

A. God made me to know Him, to love Him, and to serve Him in this world, and to be happy with Him for ever in the next.

Q. OF WHICH MUST WE TAKE MORE CARE, OUR SOUL OR OUR BODY?

A. We must take more care of our soul than of our body.

Q. WHY MUST WE TAKE MORE CARE OF OUR SOUL THAN OF OUR BODY?

A. We must take more care of our soul than of our body, because in losing our soul we lose God and everlasting happiness.

Q. WHAT MUST WE DO TO SAVE OUR SOULS?

A. To save our souls we must worship God by faith, hope, and charity; that is, we must believe in Him, hope in Him, and love Him with all our heart."

Just imagine the effect of this grand simplicity upon the mind of the child as compared with the hyperbole of the socialist lesson:

"On the Nature of Life" (*Chicago Socialist*, 7-4-1903).

"1. The extent of scientific knowledge of the origin of life.

2. In the lowest forms of life it is difficult to distinguish between plant and animal. For example we read in biology of one of these simplest forms of life called meridion circulare, which examined under a powerful microscope, is seen to multiply by dividing itself; each part developing into a new individual.

3. Lowest form of life consists of one cell, hence because it is made up of a single physiological cell it is called unicellular.

In animal life these unicellular organisms are called protozoa, in plant life they are known as protophyta. As far as unicellular organisms are concerned whatever is true of the growth and development of protozoa is true of protophyta.

4. A protozoon like cells in general has a nucleus and it multiplies by a process of discontinuous growth; that is, the cells divide and the separate parts start as distinct physiological units.

5. A gradual differentiation takes place and multicellular organisms appear, called in animal life metazoa, in plant life metaphyta.

6. Multicellular organisms consist of a plurality of physiological cells modified to subserve different functions in the economy of the plant or animal.

Central thought—Life means change—change of environment into things to support life."

When all is said, it has been said that life has no origin, and no law. Change occupies the place in the socialist mind that the Ten Commandments occupy in the normal mind. With no original design to be worked out, life is incompetent to draw out one's energies; without offence talents may be hid in a napkin. Without personal initiative or personal responsibility, life is going at a thundering speed to any old place at all. Like the man being run away with, down hill, the race can do but one thing—go.

“Why don't you jump off?”

“You fool! All I can do is to hold on.”

It must not be thought that these instructors are not able to bring their monist creed down to the interest of the child. The committee having in charge the lessons for children from six to eight years have been skillful enough in their description of the “primitive” man to fix the child's attention upon false ground and to set his mind going in the wrong direction. We quote from *The Sunday Call* (10-30-1910):

“He is described as being of medium height, strong-limbed and deep-chested. Down each arm from shoulder to elbow, and elbow to wrist, ran a strip of short dark hair; the legs were similarly muscular and hairy. The fingers and thumbs were almost the same length. The toes were as usable as the fingers. The eyes were small and deeply set beneath protruding brows, the nose was broad and flat, the mouth wide, the chin firm and well defined, the teeth strong.”

The lessons ingeniously go on step by step telling how it was that the curiosity of the “tree-people” led them at last to utilize the fire which the lightning struck in the forest. At first Kaa thought the fire a beast, then seeing that beasts were afraid of fire, Kaa tended the fire to keep the beasts away. After which the “tree men” came down and lived on the earth.

So it was not in God's providence that the home was established, but the mere phenomena of nature that made the home possible. We quote:

“Step IV.—Ask the children to make drawings of Kaa and the fire beast during the week. Ask them to try and find out how people used to make fire before we had matches.

Ask them if they can find out from any books in the library any stories of how men first got fire.”

As demand creates supply, our public libraries are likely to be well stocked with the books wanted.

The whole tale of hanging a millstone about the necks of the little ones is told in the

Hints to the Teacher.

"Impress upon the children that all things necessary to life come originally from the earth, or from the land.

Lesson 1.—Talk about the tree dwellers. How they got their food. Describe their life, also the life of the cave dwellers. Show how they found everything for their support on the earth. Say something about the animals living on the earth at this time. Describe the natural beauties of the earth. Name the minerals, also vegetables and the fish, and show that they are taken from the wonderful storehouse of the earth. Show that food, clothing and shelter come from the earth."

Although we are commanded to remember the Sabbath-day and keep it holy, there is not one word about Almighty God—about our dear Lord as the Good Shepherd—about the Divine Fire that lights up the mind, as the forest fire lights up the mountain tops, in all the lesson. The "feast of the Sun" is the nearest suggestion of worship there is to be found in the second lesson. While the natural desire for praise and prayer, together with the culture of a Christian environment, is to be warped and dwarfed by mere nature-worship. In the place of religion, of prayer and praise to God, there is substituted *Merry Sunshine* singing:

"Good morning, merry sunshine,
How did you wake so soon?
You've scared the little stars away,
And shined away the moon.
I saw you go to sleep last night,
Before I ceased my playing,
How did you get way over there,
And where have you been staying?"

Of course if these defrauded little ones could realize that their Sunday-school teaching is but the prelude to the time when *Homeless Children* would be the rule, sunshine singing would not make them so merry.

It were idle to fancy that these Sunday-school teachers are not fully determined upon undermining the Christian religion

as a preparation for the "new order." Their caution to themselves is that:

"We should ever bear in mind that we must do a certain amount of destructive work preparatory to the building for new ethical and industrial teachings."

The development of this phase of socialism goes on apace. Recently (*The Call*, 4-15-1911), fifty socialist Sunday-school teachers of Greater New York met at an informal dinner. Its declared object was as follows:

"To form a strong compact organization prepared to formulate its plans in such a manner as to insure the support and sympathy of socialists everywhere.' Its declared intention is to prepare children for the coming social order by a definite method."

Consequently something "better," more sharply in resistance to Christianity, may soon be expected for the socialist Sunday-schools.

No, it were greatly amiss to rest secure in the thought that after all not so many children are reached by this blighting influence. First because of the restless energy with which the work is carried on it permeates everywhere; and secondly because besides the hundreds of tributary organizations avowedly teaching pantheism, monism and whatnot, there is the godless influence of our own public schools, where children are not alone bereft of religious instruction, for they are spiritually stricken with a plethora of animalism giving a false tone to science and a false color to history. Even the kindergarten is not free from the gaunt hand of this religious famine, so nicely gloved with a gleeful nature worship,—for Froebel's instruction rests upon only one of the pillars of knowledge. Induction and deduction form the ladder of the ascending and descending angels, not that of induction only.

Moreover, socialists are putting forward most strenuous efforts to capture the public school boards, that they may augment those very-anti-religious influences which even the Protestant public are beginning to question. In not a few cities and towns socialists have captured the majority of the committee; and their psychology is strongly felt upon many other boards.

With the school boards under socialist control, the children are to be taught that the industrial conflict between the capitalist and the working class is "irreconcilable." That they must with the "spirit of class-consciousness" (which logically leads to class hatred) oppose the capitalist class and overthrow them, thereby revolutionizing the existing social order.

In all soberness of thought, since life is a frenzy, according to socialist teaching, we submit to the judgment of American fathers and mothers who are responsible for the education given to their children it is a serious question.

However deeply we may resent the irreligious theories and methods that are popular to-day, there is to be found no sanity in the views of the would-be-socialist teachers. We quote:

"So present-day society is as helpless and aimless in regard to the question of education as it is in regard to all other questions. What methods, then, does it resort to? It calls for punishment and preaches religion; that is, it preaches submissiveness and contentment to those who are far too submissive and contented already; it teaches abstinence, where poverty compels people to abstain from the very necessities of life. They who brutally rebel against this state of affairs are placed in so-called 'reformatories' that are generally controlled by religious influences. That is the limit of the pedagogical wisdom of our society." (Bebel's "Woman," pages 450-51.)

With atheism as his declared religion, how should Bebel, with the light of his reason so darkened, be expected to have the conviction that religion is the one only scientific foundation upon which to build a system of education; or to have the knowledge that because of its having been injured the one way to restore the body politic to good health, is to "*Restore all things in Christ.*"

Nor should it cause surprise that Bebel's prophecy were as wanting in charity as his criticism of the present day education. We quote again from "Woman" (p. 443):

"The socialist system of education will be purified and improved, just like the system of production. Many antiquated, superfluous methods and subjects, which now only serve to hamper the child's mental and physical development, will be dropped. The knowledge of natural things, adapted to the child's understanding, will incite a far greater

desire for study than a system of education where one subject conflicts with and contradicts another; for instance instruction as taught by the Bible, and, on the other, as taught by science and natural history."

Just as though it were a choice between the Bible and natural history or science. There is no possible conflict between truth and truth. If one shall find an apparent or an actual conflict, he must be sure that the fault is not with the Bible, though it may be with his individual interpretation of it. Or on the other hand that science as taught is not science but error, or again, that the alleged history is not a correct report of the doings of man. In the whole range of human experience, not a case of conflict has been substantiated, though many are assumed by men illy equipped for the task of judging.

Yet after all it is false opinion when translated into bad conduct that is most telling in the despoliation of the race. We have shown that there is no foundation for right thinking in socialism; no place where religion is taught that socialists would not enter to destroy. And we have shown that socialists intend to practice what they preach, though we have done with the cumulative testimony on this point. So the question is imperative: Are these seducers of sex virtues to be trusted with the teaching of the children?

American fathers and mothers—though we might address those of the whole world for that matter—we ask you to consider what socialists think fit training in virtue for your children. We quote from an author of whom the *International Socialist Review* (Dec., 1902), says:

"He faces bravely the questions that prudes of both sexes shrink from, and he offers a solution that deserves the attention of the ablest leaders of popular thought."

That author is Edward Carpenter who, in "Love's Coming-of-Age" (p. 100), has this to say:

"Each youth or girl should personally see enough of the other sex, at an early period, to be able to form some kind of judgment of his or her relation to that sex and to sex-matters generally.

". . . The doing away with the absurd superstition that because Corydon and Phyllis happen to kiss each other sitting on a gate, therefore they must live together all their lives, would soon mend matters considerably. Nor would a reasonable familiarity of this kind between the sexes in youth necessarily mean an increase of casual or clandestine

sex-relations. But even if casualties did occur they would not be the fatal and unpardonable sins that they now—at least for girls—are considered to be. Though the recognition of anything like common pre-matrimonial sex-intercourse would probably be foreign to the temper of a northern nation; yet it is open to question whether society here, in its mortal and fetichistic dread of the thing, has not, by keeping the young of both sexes in ignorance and darkness and seclusion from each other, created worse ills and suffering than it has prevented, and whether, by giving sexual acts so feverish an importance, it has not intensified the particular evil that it dreaded, rather than abated it.

"In both man and woman . . . we find a distinct tendency towards the formation of this double unit of wedded life (I hardly like to use the word monogamy on account of its sad associations)—and while we do not want to stamp such natural unions with any false irrevocability or dogmatic exclusiveness, what we do want is a recognition to-day of the tendency to their formation as a natural fact, independent of any artificial laws.

"It might not be so very difficult to get quite young people to understand this—to understand that even though they may have to contend with some superfluity of passion in early years, yet that the most deeply-rooted desire within them will probably in the end point to a permanent union with one mate; and that towards the end they must be prepared to use self-control against the aimless straying of their passions, and patience and tenderness towards the realization of the union when its time comes. Probably most youths and girls, at the age of romance, would easily appreciate this position; and it would bring to them a much more effective and natural idea of the sacredness of marriage than they ever get from the artificial thunder of the Church and the State on the subject." (Page 97).

Could anything be more informing of the fact that what Mr. Carpenter really stands in need of is the teaching of the Catholic Church on matrimony? Though by his fling at the "artificial thunder of the church," he confesses his ignorance to be sufficient enlightenment on this scientific subject of which Holy Mother Church alone is the complete Mistress.

Comment seems hardly necessary when the issue is so clear between virtue and vice. So clear before one's view is the parting of the ways—one towards happiness and holiness—the other towards misery and corruption. Which would you choose, parents of this great nation, that your children be given the knowledge of chaste conduct to meet temptation when the high blood of youth is set in motion by sex attraction? Or the let-alone-policy which relies upon familiarity of the

sexes at an early age to inform them as to fitting sex conduct? Please to remember that under socialism there will be no religious instruction to give them at once high idealism and self discipline. Can you rely upon "sex fondness" and free intercourse to give your girls and boys the opinion that a "permanent union with one mate" is desirable, although behind it a dozen broken fancies with causalities may live to haunt that "permanent union" with their consequences, all the days of their lives.

In "The Encyclopedia of Social Reform," (p. 1135) W. D. P. Bliss quotes Gabriel Deville, a French authority, who is of international standing, as follows:

"Marriage is a regulation of property. . . . When property is transformed, and only after that transformation, marriage will lose its reason for existence, and boys and girls may then freely and without fear of censure, listen to the wants and promptings of their nature. . . . The support of the children will no longer depend upon the chance of birth. Like their instruction, it will become a charge of society. There will be no room for prostitution or for marriage, which is in sum nothing more than prostitution before the mayor."

Great as this Frenchman's authority is, its weight is that of a feather when measured by that of "the greatest political document ever issued." The Declaration of Independence will kindly get right down on its knees while we introduce the testimony of the "Communist Manifesto." We know that it speaks with undisputed authority upon all socialist questions, but what shall be its importance just 1,089 years from now? In his "Studies in Literature" (*The Call*, 6-26-1910), the Reverend Roland D. Sawyer has told the world:

"First comes the 'Communist Manifesto.' This book is still the classic expression of socialism. I believe it always will be. At any rate, the man living in 3000 A. D., and wanting to know something about the nineteenth century, will want this book."

That being so, it were the crassest of ignorance in any man to-day not to know what the "Communist Manifesto" says upon the subject of children. We set it down for the information of those already wise to whom its negative tongue shall not be over difficult of comprehension:

"Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

"But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

"The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child become all the more disgusting, as, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor."

As on all other subjects, so on that of children the "Communist Manifesto" shows a good specimen of the negative mode of the defense of its own nefarious intent, and the disproportion in which the socialist mind sees all things. In these regards it should be quite likely to remain the "classic expression" of ill-balanced thought up to the year 3000.

The socialist method is not to prove its own case, but to throw off the impulse towards the defense of civil society by exaggerating the evils which are deplored and should be remedied. There is no limit to its effrontry. The holy relationship of parents and children is called "bourgeois clap-trap," while the thing condemned is the very thing that it would make universal.

If now industrial relationships of employer and employee are so hard as to tear asunder family ties, socialism proposes a scheme of life in which there shall be no family ties to tear asunder. Its cure is extinction.

It is true that some parents through greed, drunkenness or irreligion, exploit their children, but is this the rule? Have the great mass of mothers and fathers lost their love for their children or their sense of obligation to them? Certainly not! The sacrifice and devotion of parents, high and low, shame the ill conclusion. It is too true, one of the crimes of modern industry is that it employs thousands of children in the mines, the mills and factories, though this evil is greatly on the wane. And it is too true that some parents, as well as employers are ready to sacrifice their children to the greed of Moloch. But the conclusion that "all" family ties are thus torn asunder among the "proletarians," is a far-stretched falsity of socialist reasoning of which a German friend once said "it rymes vel aber it dond reason."

But what remedy is offered to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? Certainly not the cultivation of the truth that God requires at the hands of parents the good care of his little ones, for socialism would have the communities' children educated under the factory system. It would deprive them of their natural association—home influence—the love and care of their father and mother. It would substitute institutionalism for home discipline and destroy forever love, duty and obedience together with the family altar and hearthstone. Truly fathers and mothers would do better to throw their children to the protection of the wolves than to place them in the hands of "an administration of things" which seeks to convert the home into a "social industry," the rightful authority of government into despotism and the belief in God into a myth.

The "Manifesto" strikes a blow at children from another quarter. It declares for the *abolition of all right of inheritance*, for the breaking down of all lines of ancestral lineage. With homes destroyed and inheritance abolished, there would come an end to the knowledge of everybody's grandfather in short order. So from whatsoever point of view, there comes good evidence that socialists aim to break down all traces of family life. H. M. Hyndman, who follows the "Manifesto" style of reasoning, says:

"Marriage for life and responsibility of the parents for the children born in wedlock, is almost at an end even now . . . and must result in a widely extended communism." ("Historical Basis of Socialism," page 453.)

Like all other international socialist leaders, Mr. Hyndman sees the coming of his desire, the evolution towards the revolution, not in fact the cessation of parental responsibility, unless the day of doom is near at hand. If, indeed, socialists were about to take the seats of power in all the world, then the doom of the race might well be sealed. But every man may know that so long as the world stands the Church shall stand, and so long as the Church militant is on earth, the family is safe within the true Fold. Neither is there a shadow of doubt but that private property—in homes, in lands, in lucrative business—shall be handed down to generation after

generation long years after this nest of heresies has been laid low. Yet this is not saying that there is not arduous work to be done by all lovers of their country to root out the abuses upon which socialism waxes strong, together with the pest itself.

The socialist poet, Morris, and his philosophic comrade, Bax ("Socialism; Its Growth and Outcome," p. 225), propose to confer full citizenship upon entirely helpless and non-responsible persons, regardless of common humanity, which can insist upon nothing less than that infants shall be fostered by their parents, or at least protected by the state. We quote:

"Property in children would cease to exist, and every infant that came into the world would be born into full citizenship, and would enjoy all the advantages, whatever the conduct of its parents might be."

What clap-trap is this? How may infants be born into citizenship? Citizenship implies manhood,—not the immature state of childhood. It implies rights and the power to enforce one's rights. How may infants lodged in the "household industry" protect their rights even of socialist citizenship? The child's rights as a member of civil society are necessarily recognized and also protected by its parents or guardians, or by the agencies of the state until such time as it shall have attained its majority. And until it shall have arrived at the age where its five senses shall perfectly co-ordinate, it may not be said to reason in the least as to its own rights; and as for its duties, strictly speaking, it has none. Being rightly non-responsible for its own acts, it is justly subject to the authority of its parents, who on their part are not to be excused from their three-fold duty—to God, to their children and to society. Not a little, but a lot of wholesome understanding on this score would protect the children of socialists, and others, from the worse than nonsense to which their little ones are subjected by being "reasoned" with when they should be taught that most salutary virtue of obedience to rightful authority.

Big talk which has a pleasing sound, but no sense, is a speciality with socialist philosophy. God protect us from the "household industry" and the "full citizenship," which socialism would thrust children into. We are confident that the

poorest of good mothers under this "capitalist system" would prefer their scanty home with the control of their infants to the seductive offers of "full citizenship" for their infants.

To the sincere student it should be plain enough that to the task of making woman "free," is joined that of making children homeless. For these doctrinaires show that they realize that there is a co-relation of customs and laws which lock the marriage bond for life, while passing down the family from generation to generation. No important phase of the matter is left untouched by these sacrilegious and unreasonable minds. We quote from Bebel ("Woman," p. 470):

"Compulsory marriage is the normal marriage to bourgeois society. It is the only 'moral' union of the sexes; any other sexual union is 'immoral.' Bourgeois marriage is, . . . the result of bourgeois relations. Closely connected with private property and the right of inheritance, it is contracted to obtain 'legitimate' children. Under the pressure of social conditions it is forced also upon those who have nothing to bequeath. It becomes a social law, the violation of which is punished by the state, by imprisonment of the men or women who have committed adultery and have become divorced.

"But in socialistic society there will be nothing to bequeath, unless house furnishings and personal belongings should be regarded as hereditary portions; so the modern form of marriage becomes untenable from this point of view also. This also settles the question of inheritance, which socialism will not need to abolish. Where there is no private property, there can be no right of inheritance. So woman will be *free*, and the children she may have will not impair her freedom, they will only increase her pleasure in life."

Of course, if "freedom" means to be stripped of all that the normal wife and mother holds most dear—the privilege of making a happy home for her husband, of being surrounded with his children—why then woman is indeed to be freed under socialism. Certainly her "freedom" could not be *impaired*, as she shall have no home, and her children shall be brought up on the community bottle in the infants' department of the *administration of the industries*.

It may be surmised that Bebel has no moral vision—no spiritual insight—to disturb his scheme of defrauding children of the right to the wealth earned by their fathers. Divine providence plays no part in his decisions, for his theory of the

action of the class-struggle, over which the god, fatalism, presides, claims his entire attention.

No less confident are Engels and Marx as to the action of blind force:

"Monogamy arose through the concentration of considerable wealth in one hand—a man's hand—and from the endeavor to bequeath this wealth to the children of this man to the exclusion of all others. Now, the impending social revolution will reduce this whole care of inheritance to a minimum." ("Origin of the Family.")

Although Kautsky recognizes that the Church must be put out of the way before the fell deed of stripping children of their father's name and property shall be in vogue, it seems a very simple task to him also to get rid of "inheritance" by "the expropriation of the expropriators." "The Socialist Majority would make the State completely independent of the Church and abolish all rights of inheritance." ("The Social Revolution," p. 107.)

So the leaders of to-day are exactly at one with the program of '48, which declared for the "Abolition of all inheritance."

It is so easy for talkers to talk! In this case as in all their other shameful proposals the rights of children inherent in the constitution of civil society go not down before their blatant words nor their miscreant deeds. The right of inheritance lying at the base of society is safe, though sporadically here or there men might be, by a socialist majority, prevented from leaving their property to their children.

To make it clear, that if socialist proposals were translated into practice, the result would be a nation of fatherless and homeless children; and at once to set down the natural relation of children as members of society, briefly and with full force, we quote an entire paragraph from that luminous document, The Encyclical Letter on the "Condition of Labor," by Pope Leo XIII.

The State may not Abolish nor Absorb Paternal Rights.

"The idea, then, that the civil government should, at its own discretion, penetrate and pervade the family and the household, is a great and pernicious mistake. True, if a family finds itself in great difficulty,

utterly friendless, and without prospect of help, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public aid; for each family is a part of the commonwealth. In like manner, if within the walls of the household there occur grave disturbance of mutual rights, the public power must interfere to force each party to give the other what is due; for this is not to rob citizens of their rights, but justly and properly to safeguard and strengthen them. But the rulers of the State must go no further: nature bids them stop here. Paternal authority can neither be abolished by the State nor absorbed; for it has the same source as human life itself; 'the child belongs to the father,' and is, as it were, the continuation of the father's personality; and, to speak with strictness, the child takes its place in civil society not in its own right, but in its quality as a member of the family in which it is begotten. And it is for the very reason that 'the child belongs to the father,' that, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, before it attains the use of free-will, it is in the power and care of its parents. The socialists, therefore, in setting aside the parent and introducing the providence of the State, act *against natural justice*, and threaten the very existence of family life."

If for no other reasons the calm strength of these glorious words should be powerful enough to arrest the attention and to hold the assent of the sincere mind. When the commonsense of the great Pontiff is contrasted with the socialist assertions, dubbed science, the argument is so clear and so strong that nothing save a perverse will could choose against the home, which manifests a condition of natural justice to the child. We give here an example of ingenious depravity from the "Origin of the Family" (p. 91), which pretentiously proposes a better life for children, but which on its very vicious face proves its intent to rob them of their Christian birthright in the interest of "sex-fondness:"

"With the transformation of the means of production into collective property the monogamous family ceases to be the economic unit of society. The private household becomes a social industry. Care and education of the children becomes a public matter. Society cares equally well for all children, legal or illegal."

Under such a régime of desolation as socialism presents either mothers would pine and die for the want of their children; or the love of mothers for their children must come to an end. Or shall one paint the revolting scene where socialist females are so wrapped up in pluming their feathers for the changing sex pleasures that children will be gladly passed over to the "social industry." As did Rousseau pass over, one after another,

his five illegitimate children to the Foundlings' Hospital. Yes, "sex fondness" may breed children like rabbits, for they may be thrown upon the "social industry" for motherly affection and fatherly care.

William Morris has portrayed the ideal woman under "the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

In "News From Nowhere," Clara, the socialist mother, "got it into her head that she was in love with someone else."

After a year had gone by, and this flame burnt out, she took it into her head to return to Dick, her one "true" love.

What about the ideal life of the children of adulterous Clara? Why, of course with lust in the place of parental love, what rights should children have under the *new society* but those fantastical? Their rights are those of the infant citizen with nobody interested to enforce them and their joys are in proportion to their helplessness. But why thrust in so troublesome a question? Women are "free," if children are homeless.

Though as it has been presented by Morris, and who if not a poet should have the fine feeling for dealing with it, we may know the argument in defense of the wholesale cruelty contemplated towards the children of the ideal society.

As against the opinion that William Morris was in his ideal an anarchist not properly a socialist, the editor of *The Comrade* (March, 1903), comes to the rescue of his late poet-comrade's reputation. A letter from Morris to a friend is published which shows more than *The Comrade* intended, namely, as regards their attitude upon sex and family relationship, socialism and anarchism are as like as two peas.

"My dear Shurman: I believe I shall be about on the 28th. I shall be pleased to see you at my house if you can come; but let me have notice. As to the matter of education, it is after all a difficult one to settle, until people's ideas of the family are much changed; but in the meantime here is the problem: How is it possible to protect the immature citizen from the whims of his parents? Are they to be left free to starve his body or warp his mind by all sorts of nonsense, if not, how are they to be restrained? You see that one supposes in a reasonable community that experience will have taught the community some wisdom in such matters; but the parents may, and probably will, lack this ex-

perience. Well, then, hasn't the young citizen a right to claim his share of the advantages which the community has evolved? Must he be under the tyranny of two accidental persons? At present the law says yes, which means that the young citizen is the property of the two accidental persons.

"Putting myself in the position of the immature citizen, I protest against this unfairness. As for myself, being the child of rich persons, it did not weigh heavily on me, because my parents did as all right people do, shook off the responsibility of my education as soon as they could; handing me over first to nurses, then to grooms and gardeners, and then to a school—a boy farm I should say. In one way or another I learned chiefly one thing from all these—rebellion, to wit. That was good; but, look you, if my parents had been poorer and had had more character they would have probably committed the fatal mistake of trying to educate me. I have seen the sad effects of this with the children of some of my friends.

"On the whole, experience has shown me that the parents are the *unfittest* persons to educate a child; and I entirely deny their right to do so, because that would interfere with the right of the child as a member of the community from its birth to enjoy all the advantages which the community can give it. Of course, so far as grown people are concerned I quite agree with your view of complete freedom to teach anything that any one will listen to. But for children I feel that they have as much need for the revolution as the proletarians have. As to the woman matter, I do not think Bax puts it unreasonably in his article, though I have heard him exaggerate that in talk and have often fallen foul of him. By the way, you must try to write something for us. Let me know what you think of it.

"Mind you, I don't think this change in the family (or in religion) can be done by *force*. It is a matter of opinion and must come of the opinion of people free economically. I rely on the stomach for bringing it about.

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM MORRIS."

Morris, no doubt, set up a model argument that parents are the "*unfittest*" persons to educate a child, for the "young citizen's" rights to be deprived of his home is quite commonly argued in his own chaotic fashion. Perhaps it furnished the inspiration with which Mrs. Charlotte Perkins-Stetson-Gilman attacks home training in favor of the socialistic school.

It certainly were a long step towards degrading the home. When the children are taught home industries in the public schools, the mothers of those *two* children of quality, not of course, the mothers with a normal family of "quantity," would

have nothing much to do. They could then all together abandon home duties, and make themselves "equal" with men by working in the shops. With stomachs full of "economic freedom" the *opinions* necessary to the re-entrance of the whole female sex into the public industries might be rapidly spread, for it shall be granted, we think, that such monstrous opinions as Morris, Marx, Engels and all the other socialist leaders of "universal minds" rely upon for bringing about the new society would be common. At any rate, many of the "young citizens" would have acquired their right to be *homeless children* before the time were fully due.

With the vividness of the poet, the socialist doctrine as it regards children, Morris brings out. His letter, too, shows mere animality as the basis of their hope. The animal is to be full-fed, as then he will be good-natured and so an agreeable companion. This is the whole story, and it is well told. And when the perfection of the animal man is clearly seen to be the be-all and end-all of socialism, it will become sharply distinct from that desirable human progress by which the human soul makes its journey back to God, and too, from the aims of a useful life here and now. Common experience points out that the line of least resistance is not the best way to build character, for the great majority of our most useful public men are not rich men's sons. Besides, Faith points out that the heaviest burdens become light and that the roughest road is a glorious way in the service of Christ. With what poverty of experience and with what puerility of understanding then does William Thurston Brown in "Socialist Spirit" (May, 1902), exclaim:

"Where is there a minister in good standing to-day who has a faith at all comparable with that of William Morris?"

At all events there are some ministers in such good standing in the Socialist Party and in such bad standing with right-reason that they consciously or non-consciously advocate the passing away, into its higher form, of the monogamic family; and so lend their weight to the opinion that parents are the "un-fittest" persons to educate children.

Mr. William Thurston Brown, once Reverend, is full enough of good food and of bad faith to permit him to expend his en-

ergy in founding a Ferrer school, as the surest means of gathering socialist votes. The City of Salt Lake, it may be feared, shall prove itself not ready for the keeping in good faith the laws of the land, but ready for red-hot revolt against one form of a degraded family by its readiness for one of a lower level—for none at all. At all events the socialist movement is reported as meeting with much success in the Mormon States. And together with its ally, the Woman Suffrage movement, it may create a plague spot which shall soon command the most drastic attention of our Federal Government.

The liberty of the "infant citizen" is not preached without its deep design—the complete surrender of parental rights to the board of secular education.

We do not mean that every advocate of domestic instruction in the public schools; of free text-books; free lunches; free spectacles *et cætera*, has the fixed intention of assailing parental rights or of absorbing parental responsibilities by the dominant control of the school boards. No! Surely, very many are entirely innocent of the sinister meaning lying back of the phrases which roll so neatly off their tongues. What we do mean to say is that the doctrinaires who map out the international policy of their educational program are fully aware of the task they have undertaken. And that task is to rule out and to keep out religious instruction from the public schools and to make it obligatory that all children shall attend them. As only so, when the alleged superstitions taught by religion shall no longer form a part of the child's education shall their own creed flourish.

We mean to give over much testimony that the socialist creed works for the destruction of the race. The little boy being asked why Puritans came to this country, replied, to worship God as they pleased and to make everybody else do the same. It is only a question of power whether socialists who fail to worship God shall compel everybody else to do the same.

John Spargo, who has great skill in compelling everybody else in the Socialist Party to do the same, says:

"Liebknecht's name must always be associated with those of Marx, Engels, and Lassalle, in socialist history. He more than almost any other man has influenced the tactics of the socialist movement."

The Erfurt platform, which in general has formed the model for European programs, leaves no one in doubt as to its tactics with regard to the education of children. We quote:

"Secularization of the schools. Compulsory attendance at the public schools."

If religion is indeed a mere *private concern*, as socialist tacticians so vociferously insist, then, of course, the public schools cannot mix up this interest with mere private matters. It were like compelling all girls to dress in pink and all boys to wear yellow. And if the child belongs primarily to the state then, of course, compulsory attendance at the public schools may be justly enforced.

In this country where open opposition to religion receives no governmental support, and where, for want of power the A. P. A. hangs its sullen head, it is rather not tactical, to say the least, to let loose their dogs of war upon parental rights to educate their children in religious schools.

Besides the shrewdest of the socialist politicians in this country know very well that our public schools system serves their own ends. That it is being quietly moved farther and farther away from a secular system of education—as if that were not a contradiction in terms, and, quietly moved more and more towards carrying into effect their own program, namely, a system of atheist education—as if that were not also a contradiction. Education surely implies the drawing out of that inner character which God has written upon the individual soul.

Liebknecht says openly we mean that every child must be sent by its parents or relations to these secular schools, "in which no religion is taught," but Mr. James F. Carey seeks to cover the issue, and truly he is quite successful in his insincere design. Mr. Carey is, also somewhat successful in his role of competency to teach Catholic workmen what they shall believe in spite of what the Priests, Bishops and Cardinals of all the world and the Pope himself has said with regard to socialism. Mr. Carey presumes to quote Liebknecht in showing that socialism is not hostile to religious education. But in doing so he cuts out the words *in which no religion is taught*, from its sentence in *Socialism: What It Is And What It Seeks to Accomplish*, (p. 58) which he quotes.

Mr. Carey was not content with tampering with Liebknecht's quotation. In his address, which is printed under the title, *The Menace of Socialism*, which was advertised as a "reply" (Faneuil Hall, 2-5-1911) to Rev. Thomas I. Gasson, S. J., President of Boston College, this ex-Catholic impudently and willfully makes the words of Pope Leo XIII to contradict the words of Pope Leo XIII.

The dastardly act is prefaced by the reflection, "I trust that I will not lift them (quotations) out of the page, or out of the context."

If indeed they had been lifted *out of the page* with integrity of purpose it would have been shown that in the first quotation Pope Leo was speaking of the individual's right to private property in commercial capitals; that in the second quotation Pope Leo was speaking with approval of what St. Thomas Aquinas had said with regard to the duty of charity, alms giving, from the rich to the poor. Hence two entirely different topics are made to be one and the same by the gentleman who is in such a state of mental confusion that he writes down the hope that he *will not lift* these quotations from the encyclical, on *The Condition of the Working-Classes*, *out of the page*.

Whence shall a quotation be *lifted*? out of one's imagination? We shall present these quotations which are as they should be lifted from the page of their great author, and as they should not be, violently torn from the meaning and the context of Pope Leo's encyclical which was intended to be, and is, to the especial benefit of the working class. All for what purpose by one who loudly proclaims his *class interest*? Well, common-sense must answer: To break down the confidence of Catholics in the perspicuity of Papal understanding of socialism and in the integrity of Papal authority. We quote the two excerpts, as found in *The Menace of Socialism* (p. 13):

"Thus it is clear that the main tenet of socialism, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected, for it would injure those whom it is intended to benefit."

* * * * *

"Man should not consider his material possessions as his own, but as common to all,"

Whereupon Mr. Carey triumphantly asks:

"Now what are you going to make out of that? Here is the encyclical of the Pope declaring against community of goods, and quoting with approval one who freely affirms it."

What are we going to *make out of that*? Why, it is entirely clear that the classic example was set down for our fitting reply: You lie, you villian, you lie.

We give the passage from *The Condition of the Working-classes* with the words italicized which were quoted by Mr. Carey. The great pontiff says:

"Private ownership, as we have seen, is the natural right of man, and to exercise that right, especially as members of society, is not only lawful, but absolutely necessary. 'It is lawful', says St. Thomas Aquinas, 'for a man to hold private property; and it is also necessary for the carrying on of human life.' But if the question be asked:

"How must one's possessions be used?' The Church replies without hesitation in the words of the same holy Doctor: '*Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all*, so as to share them without difficulty when others are in need. Whence the Apostle saith, Command the rich of this world . . . to give with ease, to communicate! True, no one is commanded to distribute to others that which is required for his own necessities and those of his household; nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life; for no one ought to live unbecomingly. But when necessity has been supplied, and one's position fairly considered, it is a duty to give to the indigent out of that which is over.'"

Here is no comfort for collectivists, though that was not Mr. Carey's purpose for the moment. It was, rather, to discredit ecclesiastical authority; because the parochial schools are a most determined bulwark against the pernicious notion that the state has the right to educate children in schools *where no religion is taught*. Having discredited the Pope's authority up to the limit of his capacity, Mr. Carey lays down, with atheistic infallibility, the conviction that socialism is as "irresistible as the rising sun."

But the ground of their contention is false, for religion is not a mere private matter. Religion is both a personal and a social matter; and not to the state government does the child belong but primarily to the government of its parents. The child, under God's providence, is not born of the state but into the family.

Consequently there are three forms of government under which we must live: that of God, that of the family and that of the state; while for the child the central government is that of the family; that of the adult is the government of God first, the family second and the government of the state third, in the order of importance, while obedience to each is simultaneous.

Since then religion is a public matter also, for unless the Lord build the nation he laboreth in vain who buildeth it, it should be clear that the state must in its educational system provide for religious instruction, in conformity to the right of conscience. This is where Greek meets Greek.

In "Socialism: What It Is And What It Seeks To Accomplish" (Chicago, 1901), Wilhelm Liebknecht argues the point:

"In connection with this passage concerning the church we demand 'Secularization of education.' This means that the church, that religion, should have nothing to do with the school. We are bound by principle to demand this and the point is so clear that explanation seems unnecessary. However, it is worth while to meet beforehand all misunderstandings and intentional or unintentional misinterpretations to which such a demand in our platform could give occasion. It is well known how stubbornly the ecclesiastical bodies carry on the struggle concerning the school whenever that question comes to the front. One recognizes how much it means to them, Catholics, Protestants and others to hold and make their control firm over the intellect."

The tacticians here in America take a flank movement in gaining compulsory secular education. Undoubtedly they see the trend of the times to create a monopoly of education on a secular foundation. And it were not tactical to alarm the popular religious element and to disturb the action of a superior force going in their own direction. The parochial school system is the one force standing firmly in the path of socialist propaganda on the issue of education.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party officially recommends John Spargo's "Socialism" as a textbook for its own membership and for others interested in its doctrine. While editor, A. M. Simons, in his review of this book, speaking especially of the passage we here present, says that nearly all the socialists will agree with Spargo. The book itself is dedicated by Spargo:

"To George D. Herron,

'With two forms and with two figures, but with one soul, thou and I.'
Jalalu—adin Rumi."

In Spargo's *text-book* there appears the reprint of a poem dedicated in 1808 by its author to Robert Owen. Its fatalism were indeed not above a fitting tribute to the originator of the word, but to any of the present day leaders of socialism:

"THE FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

"We are the creatures of external things,
Acting on inward organs and are made
To think and do whate'er our tutors please.
What folly, then, to punish or reward
For deeds o'er which we never held a curb!
What woeful ignorance, to teach the crime
And then chastise the pupil for his guilt."

Not God's children by their own recognition; they are truly in a most unenviable state. Yet with ever-bulking pride they take themselves to be the leaders of the race. Alas! they do lead a multitude to self-disaster and a host against the nation.

The *text-book* has a chapter on "A Summary and Interpretation of Socialist Principles," from which we quote:

"Whether the socialist régime could tolerate the existence of elementary schools other than its own, such as privately conducted kindergartens and schools, religious schools, and so on, is questionable. Probably not. It would probably not content itself with refusing to permit religious doctrines or ideas to be taught in its schools, but would go further, and, as the natural protector of the child, guard its independence of thought in later life as far as possible by forbidding religious teaching of any kind in schools for children up to a certain age. Beyond that age, religious education, in all other than the public schools, would be freely permitted. This restriction of religious education to the years of judgment and discretion implies no hostility to religion on the part of the State, but neutrality. Not the least important of the rights of the child is the right to be protected from influences which bias the mind and destroy the possibilities of independent judgment in later life, or make it attainable only as a result of bitter, needless, tragic experience."

The gratuitous information of this *text-book*, that "the natural protector of the child" is the state, should be inform-

ing to Catholics, Protestants and Jews alike, in fact, to all wholesome minded parents who are aware that they are the natural protectors of their children. For it is in plain view that to its advocates the socialist majority constitutes the state. Thus the vaunted neutrality which in the next breath is hostility of the state towards the "infant citizen's" right to be taught the religion of its parents shall depend upon the will of that same socialist majority with atheism as its creed. Moreover, as this same majority has the alleged duty as the natural protector of the child to bar out religious training of any sort, it should be certain that the parents' right to educate their children according to the dictates of their conscience would be just as effective as whistling against the wind.

The every-day citizen does not forget that the Supreme Court is the final court of appeals with the Constitution as its ground of judgment. But so illy do socialist educators (sic) reason and so lamely do their pupils think that it is taken for granted that the will of the majority is like the law of the Medes and the Persians—until the next officials come in. Yet that socialists are to-day a unit on the issue of compulsory secular education, *The Appeal to Reason* (3-28-1903), may show in its answer concerning parochial schools:

"Editor *Appeal to Reason*:

"Would parochial schools be abolished under socialism?" INQUIRER.

"Under socialism the majority will decide, the same as it does to-day. If the majority decide that parochial schools shall be abolished, that will settle it. So much is certain that every child will have to attend the public school, before it attends any other school. At the same time, since religion is regarded as a private matter by socialists, parochial schools would not necessarily disappear under socialism. The people who believe in them would be free to support them, if they wanted them. And the children, after their regular school hours, could attend the parochial schools. But, of course, it is impossible to say to-day what the majority will do, when we shall have established socialism."

Having doctrinally assigned the right of the child to its "natural protector"—the state—socialism not only denies to children their right to a home, but it assails, practically, their right to be born.

The editor of The Workingman's paper—*The Socialist*, (Seattle, March 7, -2-1910)—introduces a story—"Comet"—(run in *Pearson's*, July, 1910), with the following note:

"EDITORIAL NOTE.—We have added the sub-title to this story. In our opinion 'You've Got Nerve' is the proper thing to say whenever wage-workers propose to marry and have a family. The marriage is all right, the sooner the better. But the family? Cut it out, young working-men and workingwomen, however much it goes against the grain or against the advice of Teddy.

"If you read this story intelligently, you'll know why you should not allow yourselves to have children. It's horribly unnatural, but it's still more unnatural to kill your love for each other and send your offspring into this world of wage slavery, producing such mothers and grandmothers and families as are too truly drawn in this little story from life, which can be duplicated a million times in America; yes, nearer five million times.

"Do we advise infanticide or criminal abortion? No, neither is necessary. There are perfectly innocent and harmless ways of preventing conception which you can learn from any reputable physician and which are now known and practiced by thousands of young couples who have been driven by Capitalist Necessity to deny themselves the tenderest joys of life."

No! this is not an isolated instance, nor is the advice of recent date, though we intend to present only matter of recent date. *The New York Call* (1-23-1910), publishes an article from the Rev. Roland D. Sawyer, from which we take this excerpt:

"The capitalist's church continues to teach its working class communicants to have large families and the capitalist state continues to make laws forbidding the *workingman's wife having means at hand to escape conception*. *Satisfactory and safe means to escape conception can easily be provided*, and there is no release for these unfortunate women, until the state and the doctors shall change their inhuman conduct, and make easy and accessible these means to our women, so that they need have no more babies than they want or can properly take care of."

Again, in August 14th, of the same year, on that day which all men are commanded to keep holy, *The Call* publishes from the pen of the reverend gentleman an article on Race Suicide. This leader of the people into the most revolting of sins has set up a law fantastic to suit his libidinous theory. The world must wait for "race justice," which socialism in-

tends to usher in—to govern a sex-crazed people. Until that time unspeakable sins are virtues, and so should be commonly practiced:

"For several years Theodore Roosevelt has joined his influence with the Catholic Church in an effort to check progress and happiness by advocating the rearing of large families of children. . . .

"And until we get that justice the more often that working class parents can prevent conception, at least beyond two or three children, the more often will a blessed thing be done. For under capitalism the greatest blessing that could come into the homes of the working class would be the limitation of the number of children."

It were a relief, but our pen may not pause, for our quarrel is not with some puny foe, but with an ever-growing host governed by no lesser person than his satanic majesty himself. The Reverend Sawyer's writings are in great vogue with the writers of *The Woman's Sphere*, a division of *The Call*, which is without question the leading socialist paper in the country.

Writing on the same subject—Race Suicide—for *The Woman's Sphere*, Mary Tyng refers to the Sawyer article, declaring it to be:

"so sane, so just and so sympathetic an understanding of this great problem of the perpetuation of the race. . . ."

as to meet with unqualified approval; and then goes on to tell of the risk women run in their unskilled attempts at abortion. We quote:

"Abortion should, I think, be only the last resort. After all, it is not pleasant for a woman, to say the least, to feel that there is a little life growing in her that she must kill. But eventually I believe that we shall become so enlightened that these unfortunate women will need only to go to a public hospital and say, 'I have become pregnant by accident and should like to have an operation,' in order to get such an operation performed with every precaution and safeguard." (*The Call*, *Woman's Sphere*, Sept. 4, 1910.)

Were not all comment superfluous to show that the unborn child, the most helpless of all, and the most appealing to the chaste mother for protection, finds in socialism its most ruthless murderer! We proceed with the testimony on this

point. There is in *The Call* (Dec. 11-1910), a four-column article in praise of "The American Society of Medical Sociology," by Courtenay Lemon. Taking the usual socialist ground that economic conditions are responsible for by far the greater part of disease; and inferentially condemning continence by suggesting that a celibate life is likely to impair the general health and lead to impotence, Mr. Lemon goes on to say:

"The prevention of conception is another subject on which there is perhaps even greater need of a campaign of education, a campaign against the laws, court decisions and post-office rulings which prevent the dissemination of information on this question. There is now a preventive which is simple and sure, and which is not open to the usual esthetic objections; but the laws make it a crime to give specific information to the public at large on this question. The result is that this preventive remains comparatively unknown, thus enabling the few physicians acquainted with it to hold it at a price almost prohibitive to persons who are not wealthy.

"Yet few subjects are of more importance, especially to the working class and to the revolutionary movement. The so-called race suicide is in reality a maternal general strike, a declaration in the interests of both the unborn and the living, that no more children shall be brought into the world until a change of social conditions has made it a fit place for them to live in. The demand for more children is the cry of the imperialistic, atavistic beast type of man like Roosevelt.

"In Sweden there is now a movement among the proletariat with the slogan, Love without children—a slogan which has the virtue of concisely expressing the fact that the movement does not aim at impossible and undesirable celibacy, but at the prevention of conception."

It is reserved for that profession which should for the love of men for God's sake heal their bodies, not make them vile, to descend to a lower depth of degradation yet. Not an obscure person, no, for William J. Robinson, M. D., is President of the American Society of Medical Sociology. He is editor of three magazines—*The Critic and Guide*, *The Medical Review of Reviews*, *The American Journal of Urology*, and a frequent contributor to socialist papers. Writing upon the subject "Why Men Do Not Marry," "And the Remedy for This Anti-Social Condition," for the Woman's Day Edition of the *New York Call* (2-26-1911), Doctor Robinson says:

"Take away the fear of having children, having too many of them, or having them too soon after marriage, and thousands and thousands of

men who now want to wait until they are 'well fixed' or who have decided to remain bachelors forever, will make a rush for the marriage bureau."

Having stated a condition of mind, all too prevalent, it must be acknowledged, which is contrary to a wholesome state, and in defiance of the chaste understanding of the primary reason for marriage, Doctor Robinson proceeds:

"The only way to take away the fear of having too many children or of having them too soon is to teach the people, teach them freely and openly, the methods of preventing conception. I have advocated this for years, and it is my profound conviction that no single measure would contribute so much toward the happiness and the welfare of the race as would the knowledge of the proper means of the prevention of conception."

There follows sixteen paragraphs of argument in which the *benefits* that would come to women from such knowledge is set forth, and the *evils* which they could escape by its practical application. Dr. Robinson explains that because this article appears in a distinctively *Woman's issue*, he has not dwelt upon the "benefits" which such practical knowledge would confer upon men. This side of the discussion he leaves for another occasion. "Perhaps *The Call* will sometime publish a *Man's issue*." Of course, the words "benefits" and "evils" from the pen of Dr. Robinson have not the significance which attaches to their use by one who respects his body as the temple built by the living God for the habitation on earth of an immortal soul. Hence this man who uses science to defeat the work of religion and to disease the human body, seeks successfully to differentiate himself from those who love God and fear to break the Commandments. Such are *good people*. We quote:

"These good people, who seriously object to any attempt to teach the people methods of prevention, have even succeeded in getting a federal law passed which makes the giving of any information regarding the subject a felony punishable by five years at hard labor and \$5,000 fine. And a number of people are now languishing in prisons for the terrible crime of having sent some poor woman the information, how she could protect herself from having more than half a dozen children. These good people are afraid that the universal possession of such knowledge would send mankind to the demnition bow-wows. . . . I know of no more important task than to do everything in our power to repeal the

infamous law which makes the sending of information about the prevention of conception a crime exactly on a par with the crime of performing an abortion, and about equivalent to that of burglary or murder."

The devilish skill with which abortion is psychologically separated from murder and so made to look on a par with that very "beneficial" abomination—the prevention of conception—is worthy of the most highly developed socialist mind. It gives proof that right-reason has been utterly abandoned for a perverse state, and the final paragraph which we present from Dr. Robinson would seemingly declare it to be chronic:

"There is no single measure that would so positively, so immediately contribute toward the happiness and progress of the human race as teaching the people the proper means of prevention of conception. This has been my deepest and sincerest conviction since I have learned to think rationally."

We maintain that socialist writers and propagandists should be met and worsted. They cannot be ignored, for with religion scorned and right-reason denied, their influence creeps like a miasmatic wind into every class of society. The movement grips like a plague those less able to defend themselves in the fierce industrial struggle which the lust for gold let loose upon the Christian world when the Church was deprived of her authority over commerce, through the disruption of Her guilds, which kept safe the right to a living wage, and secure the equities between master and man.

We submit that a non-religious basis of philosophy is an immoral basis of reason which precludes the possibility of a rational civil code, and so blurs the lines of plain, every-day judgment that the mind becomes habitually perverse and the heart benumbed and withered.

Moreover, parents must choose to defend their right to educate their children in the knowledge of God or submit to that system that has not alone an utter disregard for faith and morals, but an active resentment to religion. There is no half-way-house to rest easy in, for the practical effects of socialism are not limited to its own membership; its influence like the incoming tide, floods our schools with its filthy waters.

Let us enforce our own argument with the strength of the great Archbishop of Boston. He has in one searching and eloquent passage, in a lecture on Joan of Arc, summed up the devastation intended by socialist propaganda. It would leave Christian civilization in ruins, our country but an echo of greatness, and home a wail in a wilderness of desolate hearts:

"Amid the new and strange doctrines which . . . socialism has begotten in our own time none is falser, none more inhuman, none more vicious and dangerous in its effects and conclusions than that foolish and degrading theory by which the sentiment of patriotism is flouted and denied. By its endeavors to tear out from the human heart all its inborn sentiments of reverence for rulers and for law it seeks to kill in humanity its natural love for home and all that is expressed by that sacred word. To them nothing is sacred, neither God nor his altars, nor his ministers, nor home, nor native land, nor wife, nor family. For socialism, according to its accredited teachers, would wipe out forever from human life, all the sweet consolations as well as all the noble duties which these human relations have ever inspired in the normal man. No fatherland, no banner, no fireside, no altar, no ruler, no God. Thus are summed up all the damnable negations of this satanic doctrine, which overturns with one fell blow all the holiest principles of human life. No wonder that where the voice of these prophets of evil is listened to and obeyed the disorder of hell reigns. Behold France with its desecrated shrines and its homes defiled and childless. Behold Barcelona filled with regicides and traitors. The pulpits where once sounded the truths which builded up a nation's strength are being pulled down, the schools wherein were taught those principles which consecrated home and fatherland have been closed and in their place the little children of a nation are being initiated into the horrors of infidelity and anarchy which always go hand in hand. No wonder the spirit of national honor is departing and in a few years when the children of the present have grown to manhood and the new doctrines have full play, what will there be left to guard as a nation's inheritance."

Archbishop William H. O'Connell's question answers itself. There shall be left the abomination of desolation, if, in any country, socialists work out their theory into its practical conclusion.

We appeal to the mothers and fathers; to their hearts and to their heads; to the young men and women who one day hope to take their places as the honored parents in pure homes, to study with care the attitude of the socialist parties as to the family and the care of children; that they may be pre-

pared to do battle in defense of the home, the family and the citizenship of our country. When socialists eloquently inveigh against poverty and the fear of poverty (which God knows to be distressing) the sympathy of your hearts must be held in check that you may with cool deliberation supply your minds with the knowledge of socialist principles which lie behind these fervid pictures, and for which their propaganda is made. With a knowledge of what socialism truly is, you may turn those who are not yet thoroughly corrupted with its specious philosophies back again to moral ideals, to a life of honor to their country and their God. Our hope is and our effort is to supply the knowledge that shall set your hearts on fire with the task of awakening those who are now entranced with the glamor of socialist doctrine and of protecting those who are not so dazed, that a goodly army of valiant Americans shall defend the land our fathers gave us against becoming a nation of Homeless Children.

Socialist Leaders.

"ROMEO!

Come bitter conduct, come unsavory guide!
Thou desperate pilot, now at once run on
The dashing rocks thy sea-sick, weary bark!"

"Eating and drinking, music, beautiful forms, and women. The pleasures of the belly are the root and the principle of all virtue.

Epicurus."

PRINCIPLES find their embodiment in personal character, in the relationships of men and in the institutions which they build.

Socialism is international in its scope; the principles it seeks to overthrow are world-wide in extent, while those which it would institute know no state boundaries. Socialists cannot demonstrate their principles until, at least, a nation is fully under their domination.

What one may see, however, of socialist principles, is in miniature; in relations which shall consequently be universal under the régime which is advocated. We shall cite cases of the personal application of socialist philosophy, national and international.

Were we to set our searchlight upon the immoral and illegal sex association of some of the "class-conscious" socialists in many centers in which they congregate and propagate their doctrine, it would astonish not alone those who vote the ticket, but many of the members of the organization—the greater number of which never enter into its inner council, nor become acquainted with socialist philosophy,—for the very simple and sufficient reason that socialism, as superficially understood, relates merely to the labor movement.

Socialist sophistries and double dealing are on no question more in evidence than on that of marriage. Socialists advocate a new society in which the sex association of men and women will be maintained without let or hindrance of state or

church. It follows that many socialists, although they hold to the doctrines so plainly brought out in our chapter on Free Love, are constrained for politic reasons to marry, and some are quite vulgar enough, in the interest of socialist propaganda, to parade their "legal association" (one may be sure there was no ceremony at the altar) as "proof" that socialists believe in marriage. While others being bolder or less politic, or less responsible to society, having no regard for the "present marriage system," and consequently feeling under no moral obligation to live up to its civil or religious mandates—or rather scorning the slavery of being tied to one man or woman for life, live as they please, declaring that one's body is one's own to do with as one pleases.

The illustrations of socialist free love philosophy which we shall present have been before the public gaze; they are here given as woeful illustrations of that which would by dominating a socialist society inevitably destroy it, were it once erected.

We would refuse to bring before the public eye the view of these cases for motives of a personal character. But because the baneful cause of socialism may not be so clearly seen as by the awful light of tragedies upon the hearthstone, we feel constrained to enter upon this ground. It so happened, although we were active in the movement for years, that we did not make the personal acquaintance of some of these leaders, and only a formal movement acquaintance with others. Hence neither the cry of "dishonoring the dead" nor of "scandal" cause us to waver a hair's breadth from the necessary course outlined.

Besides, the acts of public men and women are by right open to public inspection. Acts of a character not above reproach; acts of those who advocate the destruction of moral standards should be opened up to view that the unwary may not be led into the traps that are set for them. The motives which prompt this chapter rest on these grounds. In fact, the motives that prompt this book are impersonal, they are civic, a love and regard for the advance of American citizenship; especially the hope of improving the present conditions which press heavily on the wage-workers; the desire that civic

harmony on the high plane of Christian democracy shall one day be the common life of man. These considerations alone are the reasons for this work.

Karl Marx's daughter, Eleanor, was the most prominent woman socialist ever known in the movement. She was an able linguist; acting as interpreter at international socialist conventions; translating reports of the socialist and labor movement throughout the world for the "International Workingmen's Association," and its press. She translated many socialist works of great importance to the movement, such as Lissagaray's "History of the Commune of 1871," from the French, and Plechanoff's "Anarchism and Socialism."

Eleanor worked untiringly for the interests of socialism. Her motives, from all that is known to the writer, were above question. Those who knew her personally say she possessed a charming personality. But Eleanor imbibed the teachings of her father! Her life was wrapped up in her father's philosophy. She believed in "economic determinism," in atheism, in free love. To her, her father's doctrine was more than belief; it was bone of her bone, and flesh of her flesh; she was a class-conscious socialist. And alas! she practiced what she preached. Herein lay her sin—herein she fell. We trust God in his infinite mercy will take the sufferings of her last unhappy days, and the terrible conclusion of her life, as an atonement for the evil she committed, as she was betrayed by the false teachings of her own father.

Wilhelm Liebknecht, late leader of the German Social Democracy—a close personal and political associate of Karl Marx and his family, says of Eleanor, "To write a history of her life—I should have to write the history of the international working class movement!"

One may become specifically acquainted with Eleanor's views on religion and on the sex question from her review of the first English edition of August Bebel's book, "Woman." We quote:

"That a work dealing so thoroughly and ably as Bebel's with such immense questions as woman's social position, the relations of the sexes, marriage, prostitution, population, must be of the greatest value to all socialists and to all students of social science, is self-evident. But to

English socialists such a work is doubly valuable, for we have to fight, not only the usual prejudices and opposition of the governing classes, but also the hypocrisy of a Bible-reading nation still imbued with the early Christian fear and hatred of the nature of woman (as the embodiment of all evil and temptation) which would forbid every open reference to either subject. The ordinary English *bourgeois* will tolerate, indeed enjoy, an indecent innuendo or doubtful allusion; but he will turn away in virtuous horror from a frank and serious discussion of serious questions, and feel a thrill of moral indignation at an earnest and scientific examination of them. Hence in England the most determined champions of Woman's rights rarely deal with the all-important marriage question, and when a woman is brave enough to do so she has to do it anonymously, besides assuring the world that she is 'respectable.' Socialists in England—especially we *women* socialists—are, then, deeply indebted to our comrade, August Bebel, for his brave and noble work. . . .”

“Bebel's treatment of the marriage question is admirable. Of course the virtuous Philistine of all classes will be profoundly shocked.” (Vol. 1, No. 6. “The Commonweal.”)

In the early 80's, before Marx's death, Eleanor made the acquaintance of her father's friend, Edward Bibbings Aveling, a once prominent leader of the Secularist Society of Great Britain. Having been forced to resign from this atheist organization, he devoted his time to the socialist movement. Later he became one of its ablest champions. Dr. Aveling gained an international reputation through the translation of “Das Kapital” into English—and from the large circulation of his books. He was of course an “economic determinist,” an atheist, a free lover. The quality of his work may readily be judged by noting the quotations from his pen in the foregoing chapters of this book.

Eleanor and Aveling fell in with each other's views, believing in an “unconventional intercourse of the sexes” and in the other socialist ideals so plainly exposed in our chapter on Free Love; they lived together as man and wife. It was current gossip that Aveling had a wife, living in the city of London, at the time he began his association with Eleanor. Being not fully acquainted as to the truth of Dr. Aveling's marriage, we will consider the question in hand quite apart from this point in the case. Save to call the reader's attention to the socialist dogma upon this point—the fact of having a wife would in no wise prevent the new association

For when "mutual fondness" ceases, a separation and its replacement by a new passionate love is a "blessing" to all concerned.

It was well known to Marx, and to the other leaders and also to the socialist movement generally that his (Marx's) daughter Eleanor and Dr. Aveling were living together in accordance with socialist sex philosophy.

Together they worked in the socialist movement. In 1886-87 they made a fifteen weeks' tour of the United States under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party.

In his "History of Socialism," Morris Hillquit makes reference to this extensive lecture tour of Wilhelm Liebknecht, the then leader of the German Social Democracy, "in conjunction with Eleanor Marx Aveling, the eloquent and brilliant daughter of Karl Marx and her husband." Surely the word "husband" is no slip of the pen with the historian who is well-informed as to the details of the tour. About fifty meetings were held in the principal cities of the United States, and, indeed their propaganda greatly stimulated the German societies to extend their socialist organizations.

Again, in 1888, Miss Marx visited this country; this time her associates in socialist propaganda were Frederick Engels and her "husband" as chronicled by the politic hand of Hillquit.

But to come to the dire climax, Aveling's "individual sex love" ceased—Eleanor's "fondness" remained unbroken. Being utterly devoid of faith, her purely physical ideal snatched from her by the hand of blind fate, with love for Edward, she filled a vial with poison; with disgust for the world she drank it to the dregs, dying a martyr to what socialists call "freedom."

Edward B. Aveling, married sometime before Miss Marx's death; himself, filled with the unrest of a mocking spirit, soon thereafter died.

The press reports of Miss Marx's suicide were sent throughout the world, despite the socialist efforts to suppress the news. *The Daily People* alone, so far as we know, a decade later says Eleanor Marx Aveling—"ended her own life—driven to the deed through the unhappy and unfortunate outcome of her marriage to Dr. Edward Aveling." So it is that the suicide

which took place is on the whole suppressed while the marriage which did not take place is made to occur,—all in the interest of propaganda.

Very few comments were made in the socialist press about the affair. It was a blow they gladly would have smothered. Neither was the death nor the life work of this faithful and untiring woman, and martyr to the socialist cause, scarcely mentioned.

The Edinburgh Socialist (Oct., 1904), wonders if the ashes of Eleanor Marx still repose "in the cupboard at 3 Bolt Court?" (London).

Eleanor Marx's loss to the socialist movement was great. But to speak of her much worth to them they dare not! There stood the spectre of her sex life and its awful end. To speak in disapproval of her association with Dr. Aveling would be a condemnation of the well-known principles of socialism relative to the family; therefore silence as to the tragedy,—silence as to her due credit—was the policy best calculated to make political progress in these United States. And to what end? Why, God forbid! to the end of submerging the nation in this vortex of sex sin by setting up their ideal, the "free family." The lid of hell may well come off and the damned dance free, at the project.

If so faithful, so able, so brave a woman to do their vile hests meet with so little honor at the hands of those who call her sin virtue, what treatment may lesser women expect at their red hands if once they hold the nation's power? It were well for socialist women to consider.

Even the *Social Democrat* of London, England, Eleanor's home, had very few words to say.

The following quotation is taken from its pages:

"Apart from the *merely* legal tie, Eleanor Marx was truly and devotedly his wife in every sense."

The italics are ours. But for that one word "*merely*," what a different tale might have been told.

For safeguarding the body politic in its right to know the lives of public men and women, and more particularly as in this case, a law of Christian civilization was disregarded will-

fully, we are indebted to a Chicago woman, Mrs. Caroline Corbin. We quote from an article in *Labor and Capital* (April, 1903), entitled:

"Are Socialism and Home Life Antagonistic?"

"I have been a faithful student of socialism for thirty years. I have read many books on the subject, have carefully watched its public action and read all the declarations and programs of its various congresses that I could discover by careful search in that time. I have conversed with some eminent European advocates of the system with the express purpose of elucidating this very point, as to whether socialism would recognize civic or Christian marriage, and I have failed to discover a shred of evidence that it would do so.

"MISS MARX'S VIEWS.—On the contrary, I have found in the utterances of such men as Hasenclever, Hyndman, Bebel and many others abundant evidence that the declaration of Eleanor, daughter of Karl Marx, made in my presence and in that of more than a score of witnesses besides—and I may add repeated in almost identical terms by one of my recent critics—sums up the whole teaching of the socialistic system on this subject.

"Miss Marx said, as stated in the *Chicago Tribune* Nov. 14, 1886, by an impartial witness:

"Love is the only recognized marriage in socialism, consequently no bonds of any kind would be recognized. Divorce would be impossible, as there would be nothing to divorce, for when love ceased, separation would naturally ensue."

"Miss Marx was at that time traveling in this country with Dr. Aveling, the intimate friend of her father, Karl Marx, and the translator into English of his chief work, 'Das Kapital.' She passed as Mrs. Aveling, although the real wife of Dr. Aveling, an ageing and invalid woman, was living in London. When at her death a few years later Dr. Aveling discarded Miss Marx and married another woman, the tragic story of the suicide of the sometime 'free wife' was heralded in the leading newspapers of England and America."

The pointedness of Mrs. Corbin's article challenged a response from the socialist press. Surely this were the occasion for an out and out denial of their doctrinal belief in free love; or for a frank acceptance of it. What then as a matter of historical fact was the attitude of the socialist press upon the appearance of Mrs. Corbin's forceful paper? A shifting of the ground; a denial by implication, and for the rest silence. *The Coming Nation* softly turns the issue, careful not to injure the feelings of those who scorn *recognized forms*. We quote:

"As regards Mrs. Corbin's statement that Eleanor Aveling lived with Dr. Aveling as his wife without being married to him according to recognized forms, I have often heard this stated as a fact, and I presume it is true. But what of it? What has Eleanor Aveling got to do with the principles of socialism? The question that confronts us as sane men and women is not what Eleanor Aveling did or did not do, but, shall we have industrial freedom or industrial slavery?" (May 23rd, 1903.)

But the master politician denies the fact which it probably knows all about, and deftly slanders a Jesuit priest:

"Father Sherman well knows that society to-day is honeycombed with immorality, yet he passes this by with evident approval, and then tries to make the socialists appear immoral by reciting the oft-denied story about Eleanor Marx." (*The Social Democratic Herald*, June 13, 1903.)

We have expressed a truism by saying that socialist principles find their embodiment in personal relations, hence the interrogation "what has Eleanor Aveling got to do with the principles of socialism?"—with "industrial freedom or industrial slavery?" may spring from ignorance, or it may be a sample of socialist tactics in embryo. If it be the former, then is it an assumption for so illy-informed an editor to sit in a socialist sanctum. If it be the latter, then it is evidence that the editor has not yet the fully developed "socialist mind." For a well developed "socialist mind" lies right out if he must to "down" an antagonist. Let us rather believe that the editor of *The Coming Nation* does not see the connection of Eleanor Marx's association with Edward B. Aveling with the principles of socialism. He may be better informed if he shall study this book, which is meant to give just this necessary education. A fully informed person in the cult knows that Eleanor's life was a miniature demonstration of the "free marriage" which is to be the rule under the "free society" of socialism.

What Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx "did or did not do," would not be of interest to us, were it not for the fact that their relation embodies the ideals of an organization which seeks the suffrages of our citizens. We would do much that their lives might not become the pattern for the life of all the people.

Presumably not content with the expression of its own ignorance, or with its double dealing, *The Coming Nation* discusses the matter further in the same issue:

"Mrs. Corbin bases her assumption that 'home life'— and by that she means the sacred marital relation existing between husband and wife— would be abolished, on the statement of some half dozen socialists. Mrs. Corbin should bear in mind, as should all others who are considering this phase of the question that a Bebel, a Hyndman, a Hasenclever, count but one, and their influence and ideas would extend just to the extent that the rest of society accepted them."

Oh, no! You are mistaken, my dear socialist editor, they count three, not "one!" And when you add the authority of Marx, Engels, Bax, Ferri, Carpenter, Herron, La Monte, Oscar Wilde, Kautsky, Jaures, and hundreds of others—when you add the dozens of socialist editors the only one that is left is the misinformed Red Hill editor.

Neither was the *Social Democratic Herald* satisfied to let the Marx-Aveling case drop with the mere slander of a man— Father Sherman. Its "oft-denied story" did not keep quiet. So on Independence Day (1903) the editor slanders a sincere woman to paint white an unfortunate woman of whom it was no slander to say she was a free wife after the socialist fashion, but the sorry truth. Under the atheistic caption "The Church and the Money Bags," it says:

"As to Mrs. Corbin and her filthy insinuations against the socialists we hardly feel called on to reply. Only a woman of filthy mind could persist in her slanders when all the evidence go to disprove them."

The editor then proceeds tactically to condemn the evils of low wages and the hard conditions of the working class and adroitly closes without answering Mrs. Corbin's questions, and by giving the "socialist minds" the socialist method of self-defense, in making propaganda, namely, slander:

"Mrs. Corbin's articles referred to above are filled with untruth, distorted utterances of socialists used to bolster up her foul insinuations, and slanders of people now dead, and hence unable to defend themselves— notably Eleanor Marx. Mrs. Corbin is certainly a low-minded woman."

This is really meant in defense of Eleanor's work for socialism. For it is necessary to keep in the good graces of the "international working class," who have no qualms of conscience about accepting her life as correct, after the socialist pattern.

When the women of this country realize the danger which confronts the home, when they become aware of this cuttlefish that swims in our civic waters, when they learn the immoral standards which rest on socialist principles (which the life of Eleanor frightfully exemplifies, then the service of Mrs. Caroline Corbin, who is by socialists called "low-minded," will be rightly valued. Then will the socialist movement be nearer its end.

The issue must be met! Socialists may answer, guilty; or they may be proven guilty by the conspiracy of silence.

1st. Were not Eleanor Marx and Edward Bibbings Aveling leaders of the socialist movement?

2nd. Are not their books circulated as means of propaganda within the international socialist movement?

3rd. Did not Eleanor Marx and Dr. Aveling live the sex life as advocated by socialist teachings?

These are the questions which concern the public weal, for the reason that socialism has organized a political party to enforce its principles. The socialist editors need not think to escape by lying, it only proves guilt. For which, Heaven forgive them and cleanse them, for the virus of irresponsibility is in the marrow of their atheistic bones.

We now turn to a more recent, a national example of the immoral practice of socialist philosophy. We shall set forth the conduct of one of the foremost among the class conscious socialists of America, George D. Herron.

The socialist movement of the United States, from 1902 to the year 1908, probably owes more of its progress to this leader than to any other person in the socialist party. In 1899 a split took place in the Socialist Labor Party. The larger division set up its headquarters at Springfield, Mass. The Social Democratic Party, under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, had headquarters at Chicago, Ill. By duplicity and diplomacy a union of the two organizations was effected. And to George D. Herron, the present Socialist Party largely owes its existence. The national convention of July, 1901, effected socialist unity. The first move which greatly facilitated unity was the election of Mr. Herron as chairman. The second point

of reconciliation was his "compromise immediate demands," the Socialist Labor division having stood for the complete overthrow of the planks in the platform which by socialists are known as "immediate demands;" thereby signifying that those measures are not properly a part of socialism, but only the means of organizing a political party and getting elected to office.

In reporting the doings of this convention, *The Worker*

"The selection of Herron as temporary chairman was unanimous and satisfactory to all parties, . . . he steered the convention through some threatening breakers during the opening and most trying hours of the convention."

Subject to the call of the International Congress of Socialists, each country, by referendum vote, elects two secretaries to represent the organized socialists of their respective countries on the International Committee, with headquarters established at Brussels, Belgium. This secretaryship is the highest office within the gift of the United States socialists. It places the incumbent in the forefront of the international movement. These secretaries are the only authorities recognized in international correspondence. In 1902, by the referendum vote, George D. Herron was elected to serve this country, over all other nominees for the office.

Mr. Herron has made the largest financial contributions to the socialist movement within late years. Not only has he contributed hundreds of dollars to the organization directly, but also through the "Socialist Fellowship" he has given largely to the support of socialist editors, secretaries and speakers.

We have in previous chapters presented quotations from the pen of Mr. Herron, which are proof positive that he is a "class conscious" socialist and an eloquent and able expounder of socialist principles.

George D. Herron was a Congregationalist minister, with a pastorate in Burlington, Iowa. Mrs. E. D. Rand, a wealthy member of his congregation, becoming infatuated with the work of Rev. George D. Herron, established for him a "Chair of Applied Christianity" at Grinnell University, Iowa.

The establishment of this chair was specifically for the purpose of "developing a social philosophy and economic from the teachings of Jesus, or the application of his teachings to social problems and institutions." Finding that his teachings were in conflict with the demands of Grinnell University, Dr. Herron was forced, by the authorities, to resign, and the chair was abolished.

One year before his ordination as a minister of the Congregational Church Dr. Herron married Miss Mary Everhard of Ripon, Wisconsin. Five children were born of this union, four of whom are now living.

From the time his "chair of Applied Christianity" was endowed, Miss Rand, the daughter of the lady who financially created the chair, became his "constant companion." Later the ladies and Dr. Herron traveled together in foreign countries, Herron supporting himself by the bounty of Miss Rand and her mother. Finally becoming thoroughly inoculated with the sex virus of socialism, Dr. Herron left his wife and four children, pressed his wife to sue for a divorce, stopped the detail of the court procedure by giving his children some of Miss Rand's money, and turned a new page by marrying Miss Rand.

From the time of the "socialist wedding" the movement profited still more, financially and otherwise, from Dr. Herron's patronage, for Mrs. Elizabeth D. Rand, the mother of the second Mrs. Herron, contributed monies with a lavish hand to socialist papers, to general propaganda, while enabling Dr. Herron to devote himself entirely to the movement.

Mrs. Rand died (July, 1905), bequeathing \$200,000 to the movement for the establishment of a school "to teach social science from the standpoint of international socialism." The trustees of the fund are Mr. and Mrs. Herron and Morris Hillquit. They organized *The Socialist Society*, which now holds the title to the property to which many of the leading socialists of the country belong.

The Rand school was established in the city of New York, where a corps of teachers are maintained to instruct adult persons in the economic and philosophic doctrine of Marx and Engels, which have not been materially modified by the subse-

quent leaders. We quote from the *Rand School Bulletin*, sub-joining a partial list of teachers:

"The American Socialist Society, an incorporated body, holds title to the property of the Rand School and administers its affairs. The fidelity of the school to the purpose of its founder is assured by the constitution of the society, which restricts membership to 'persons who formally declare themselves in full accord with the principles and tactics of the modern socialist movement.' The officers of the society are Algernon Lee, president; Morris Hillquit, treasurer, and W. J. Ghent, secretary."

Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, Prof. D. S. Muzzey, Prof. Charles A. Beard, Columbia; Prof. Wm. Noyes; Prof. I. A. Hourwich; Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley; Dr. Emily Green Balch, Wellesley; Charlotte Perkins Stetson Gillman; William N. Leiserson; George R. Kirkpatrick; Algernon Lee; Robert W. Bruere; John Spargo; Morris Hillquit; W. J. Ghent; Benjamin C. Gruenberg; Florence Kelly.

John Spargo, editor of *The Comrade*, just after the divorce case, writing of Dr. George D. Herron said:

"Those of us who gather . . . in the dingy editorial rooms of *The Commonweal*, feel that this man will come forth out of the fire of persecution to be the greatest leader of the American socialist movement. The unanimous call, weeks afterward, that he preside at the opening of the great 'Unity Convention' bears witness to the growth of that feeling.

"On his return from his European tour in 1900, Professor Herron made a notable declaration for uncompromising socialism at a mass meeting held in Chicago by the Social-Democratic Party—the first meeting in the Presidential Election campaign—when he confessed that for eight years he had been voting for the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party. Since that time he has thrown himself heartily into the work of the party, and his later writings show that his emancipation from the bonds of ecclesiasticism is complete. A clear, cultured thinker, equally powerful with voice and pen, he has laid all his magnificent powers upon the altar of the class-conscious revolutionary socialist movement of the world." (New York, September, 1901.)

Since "self-expression," not *self-sacrifice*, is a key note of contrast between the Christian and the socialist creeds, the standing of Dr. Herron in the Congregational church and his standing in the socialist party at the same time should prove of interest, we think:

"The council called by the Congregational church of Grinnell, Ia., to advise concerning the church membership and ministerial standing of Mr. George D. Herron convened at Grinnell, June 4.

"The following statement was presented by the committee representing the church:

"STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

"The committee appointed by the First Congregational Church of Grinnell, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the Grinnell Association held at Baxter, Ia., April 30, 1901, for the purpose of calling a council to advise as to what shall be done with reference to the ministerial standing and church membership of George D. Herron, have communicated with Mr. Herron in regard to the calling of a mutual council.

"It has been made to appear by the recent divorce proceedings between Mr. and Mrs. Herron at Algona, Ia., and his subsequent marriage to Miss Rand that his relations to and treatment of his wife and children have been such as are, to say the least, unbecoming a Christian minister.

"There is evidence that the divorce proceedings, while brought in the name of Mrs. Herron as plaintiff, were, in fact, instituted by Mr. Herron and against the wish and protest of Mrs. Herron.

"Since March 21, 1901, at which time the divorce was granted, Mr. Herron has married Miss Carrie Rand, a lady with whom he has for the past nine years been on terms of intimate acquaintance. This conduct on the part of Mr. Herron seems to be at variance with the teachings of Christ as recorded in Matt. 19: 8, 9; Luke 16: 18.

"If the council so desire the committee can introduce evidence tending to substantiate the statements herein contained.

"Mr. Herron has sent to the committee a communication in the nature of a defense, which will, at his request, be submitted to the council.

"The testimony tended to show that Mrs. Herron began helpful service for her husband while they were together in Ripon College, reading his lessons for him when his eyes were weak, and that she had continued to show the same self-denying care during their married life. She completed her college course—though Mr. Herron did not finish his—and was considered one of the finest students, well-equipped to be the companion of a literary worker. Five children were born to them, of whom four are living. Mrs. Herron has been a faithful and hardworking mother, taking upon herself many of the home cares usually shared by a husband. She was always solicitous for her husband and for his comfort. When visiting or receiving calls her conversation was almost sure to turn to him and his work. When he was present in the home everything was planned for his comfort and convenience. Mrs. Herron was much interested in her husband's work, believing that he was a man with a special mission. And so far as could be gathered from her conversation and public utter-

ances, she was in full accord with his teaching. During his long absences from home she went into society but little, spending much time in reading the books he recommended and taking up new studies in order that she might be able to enter into his life as much as possible.

"During the last few years, when it became apparent that Mr. Herron was seeking companionship and affection elsewhere, Mrs. Herron showed no signs of resentment or jealousy—so far as her neighbors could judge—but only the burden of sorrow, and tried to retain her husband's love by serving him more faithfully. The statement of Miss Parker that 'she did everything but breathe for her husband' when he was at home raised a smile in the council, but it was the expression of an honest conviction.

"Mrs. Herron had said little about divorce except under the seal of confidence, but enough was known to convince the council that she was an applicant for divorce only in a technical sense, not consenting to become such until fully convinced that it would be impossible to maintain the integrity of her home.

"Mr. J. P. Lyman, chairman of the church committee, presented a certified copy of the court records in the divorce proceedings, showing that the petition for divorce, the answer and the decree were all filed on the same day at Algona, Ia., while Mr. Herron was in New York City. The petition alleged that 'the defendant without cause or excuse deserted this plaintiff and refused to longer live and cohabit with her as her husband,' also that he 'has been guilty of such cruel and inhuman treatment as to seriously impair her health and to endanger her life.' In his decision the judge declared, 'the court finds for the plaintiff and finds that the allegations of her petition are true.' A divorce was granted, giving to Mrs. Herron the custody of the four children. This was on March 21, 1901. Evidence in the form of a business letter signed 'Carrie Rand Herron' was produced to show the truth of the published reports that Mr. Herron had already contracted a second marriage with the woman who had been on such terms of intimate association with him for at least nine years.

"The council adopted the following as the result of its deliberations.

"THE FINDING OF THE COUNCIL.

"At a council held in the First Congregational Church of Grinnell, June 4, 1901, to consider the right to church membership and ministerial standing of George D. Herron, the following findings were rendered:

"1. That the charge of immoral and unchristian conduct is sustained by the findings of the court which, at Algona, on March 21, 1901, granted a decree of divorce to Mary Everhard Herron from her husband, on the grounds of desertion and inhuman treatment.

"2. The same charge is further sustained by evidence presented to this council, showing that George D. Herron's manner toward the wife

who consecrated her life to the effort to make him happy, relieve him of care and aid him in fulfilling what she believed to be his high calling, has been that of unfeeling and selfish indifference and, at least since 1896, of studied neglect culminating in a heartless desertion and the final tragedy of divorce.

"3. The same charge is still further sustained by confessions contained in the paper written by Mr. Herron in his own defense and read to the council. In this paper he denies the right of society to sanction or undo a marriage tie between man and woman and presents a view of the conjugal relation, of fatherhood and the home which is abhorrent to enlightened Christian sentiment, and which confirms the council in the opinion that this action of George D. Herron is simply the criminal desertion of a worthy wife and devoted mother by a man who has deliberately falsified his marriage vows.

"In view of these findings it is

"Resolved (1), That we recommend to the Grinnell Association that the name of George D. Herron be dropped from its roll of membership.

"Resolved (2), That we recommend to the First Congregational Church of Grinnell that the name of George D. Herron be dropped from its roll of membership.

"Resolved (3), That we express our conviction that George D. Herron has forfeited all right to be known by the churches of our faith and order as a minister of the gospel, and that he is by vote of this council deposed from the Christian ministry." (*The Congregationalist*, June 15, 1901.)

Comment on the proceedings of the council seems to us entirely unnecessary. Suffice it to say, amen to their efforts to maintain the integrity of the family against the world-wide encroachments upon it by atheism in one or another form.

Editorially *The Congregationalist* and *Christian World* (Boston, June 15, 1901) gives voice to its sentiments:

"DR. HERRON AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE FAMILY.

"The essential viciousness of Dr. Herron's position is its unrestrained individualism. The right of a man to order his life purely to further what he fancies to be his own largest welfare is forever balanced by his right and duty to relate it to society in such a way that he will fulfill all reasonable obligations to others, and particularly to those most intimately connected with him. To disown the claims of the social order is nothing short of consummate selfishness, however much such behavior may be disguised in beautiful phrases.

"Dr. Herron's letter is worth reading, simply that one may see what a man with his back to the wall defying all the delicate and noble instincts

of human society, can say in his defense. No man ever put more effort or eloquence into an apology for his conduct. An affluent vocabulary, an uncommon deftness in argumentation, a misguided ethical passion and a gratuitous assumption of personal martyrdom are all brought into requisition to buttress his position. But the flimsy structure of his laborious logic falls the moment that the solid fact that he has tired of his wife and given himself to another woman touches it. There never has been in civilized society but one verdict upon such conduct. There never will be. There never can be so long as sane men dwell in a universe such as we understand ours to be.

"We are put into the world primarily, not to agitate in behalf of single tax or of co-operative industry or a socialistic commonwealth, but first of all to be good husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters. No degree of activity and apparent success in efforts looking to the public welfare can atone for lack of fidelity and tenderness in these primary human relations. The family always has been and always will be the sphere in which men get their best discipline and their largest growth. Not until a man is trying to do his utmost to fulfill the obligations imposed by kinship with others ought he to venture out into the wide field of action in which the general good of society is the object sought. Fortunately, we are not without men and women who are loyal both to the family and to society and who are serving both with unflagging zeal. From such persons as these and from them alone will proceed the impulses that will lift the world's burdens and right its wrongs."

We now submit the communication of Rev. G. D. Herron to the Congregational church council, which was printed in the *International Socialist Review*.

LETTER TO GRINNELL CHURCH COMMITTEE:

NEW YORK, MAY 24, 1901.

"To the Committee appointed by the Congregational Church of Grinnell, Iowa, to call a council of churches to inquire into my ministerial standing and church membership.

"Brethren—I received your request that I join with you in calling a council to inquire into my standing as a minister and as a member of your church. I could not join with you in this call, nor do I feel it essential that I should. You are a body of Christian gentlemen, seeking to do what you believe to be your whole duty, and the council called by you will be as impartial, and as eager to do what seems to it right, as if I had joined in the call. I could not hope to include a friendly church in the council; for, however sad the reflection on myself to say so, I have no friend that I know of in the Congregational Church or ministry of Iowa.

"When I turn from the desires of a father's heart to what is best for the children themselves, I think their choice of their mother would be wise; for they will have a good mother, and the life of a man given to the socialist revolution cannot fail to be more or less the life of an outcast, as the revolution intensifies and arrays a ruling class against a working class in a final issue and crisis.

"In this connection, I would like to say that I do not see why the matter of adequate financial provision should have been made a basis of complaint or discussion. Certainly, it was the right and duty of the mother of these children to accept such provision, in simple justice to herself and them, as it was my privilege and duty to provide to the utmost. As to what friends enabled me to do this, that is a matter into which the public has no right to inquire, so long as those concerned are satisfied.

"As a council, you are acting in defense of what you believe to be the sacredness of the family institution, against which I am to you an offender. In order that your action on this point may be complete, let me say to you that *I do not believe that the present marriage system is sacred or good. It rather seems to me to be the destruction of the liberty and love and truth which make life sacred and worth living. If love and truth are the basis of morality, then a marriage system which makes one human being the property of another without regard to the well-being of either the owned or the owner, seems to me to be the very soul of blasphemy and immorality.* (Italics ours.) The family founded on force is a survival of slavery, and one of the expressions of the slave-principles on which our whole civilization is built. It is a mode of the superstition which thinks it good for human beings to own each other, and good for the race to have all its sources and tools of life owned by the few who are strong and cunning enough to possess them. The ethics of the legally and ecclesiastically enforced family make it possible for a man to live a life of monstrous wrong, of ghastly falsehood, even of unbridled lust, and yet be highly moral according to the standard by which we are judged. The same standards condemn and disgrace the purest expressions of comradeship, if they cross the conventions or forget the decrees of custom. Free and truthful living is thus made a tragedy, to have overwhelming and revengeful retribution added unto it, while slave-living and falsehood may be rewarded with world-blessings and ecclesiastical canonization. *I thoroughly believe in the vital and abiding union of one man with one woman as a true basis of the family life. But we shall have few such unions until we have a free family. Men and women must be economically free—free to use their powers to the fullest extent—free from the interference of legal and ecclesiastical force, and free to correct their mistakes, before we can have a family that is noble, built on unions that are good.* (Italics ours.) Lives that are essentially one, co-operative in the love and truth that make oneness, need no law of state or church to bind or keep them together. Upon such, the imposition of force is a destruction and a blasphemy. On the other hand, no law in the universe has a right to keep together those who are not vitally and essentially one. It is only in freedom that love can find its own, or truth blossom in the soul,

or other than a slave-individuality unfold. It is the business of society to see to it that every child is surrounded by the full and free resources of a complete life; it is the business of society to see to its own fatherhood and motherhood of every child, as well as to hold every parent responsible; it is the business of society to know every child of woman as a free and legitimate child of God, and welcome it as an inheritor of the reverence and resources of the earth; but it is not the business of society to unite or separate men and women in the marriage relation. Love must be set free and liberty must be trusted, if noble and beautiful homes are to spring up to make the earth a garden of truth and gladness. The coercive family system is filling the earth with falsehood and hypocrisy, misery and soul-disintegration, and is perpetuating the morality of slaves and liars. In times past, men have thrown away their lives in protest against what seemed to them tyranny and wrong. There is a new world coming whose way can be made ready only by those who will throw away their good names, and accept, perhaps, everlasting disgrace, as the price of their protest.

"And if I willingly accept all the obloquy and retribution which church and society may visit upon me, in making a protest against a system that seems to me destructive to all true morality, and to the very citadel of the soul's integrity, then my protest has earned its right to be heard.

"It seems useless and hopeless to speak to religious or moral custodians about the agony of the soul for self-revelation; about the increasing and intensifying struggle of man to outwardly express what he inwardly is. Our morality is so altogether based on appearances, on calculated action, and has so little to do with truth or reality, that the spectacle of a man trying to be simply honest with the world, in order to be honest with his soul, causes him to be taken for either a criminal or a mad-man.

Civilization, with its network of falsehood and suspicion, of retribution and revenge, is a sort of world-conspiracy against the soul's integrity and against individuality. Yet the right of a single soul to fully and freely express itself, to live out and show forth all the truth about itself, so that it need have within itself no hid thing, but be naked before the universe and not be ashamed, is infinitely more important than the whole fabric of civilization. The travail of the soul to become honest, the struggle of man to come to himself, is far more vital and revolutionary, more menacing to what we call civilization, than any questioning of the marriage system, or the questioning of any institution. You may be sure that when the son of man rises out of the common life, there will not be left a shred of any kind of institutional bond, and there will be no sentinels on the walls of the soul's possibilities.

"When publicly placed in a position where I must either affirm or deny the unity of my life with hers, (Miss Rand), or else evade the interrogation, I can be truthful to the world in no other way than by establishing the fact of this unity. After this storm of savage and senseless wrong has broken upon her, after the world has taken everything it values from

her, after all she has given and lost, after she has been the source and inspirer of so much of such work as I have done, after I have lived for so many years because she has lived also, after she has dedicated my life to the socialist cause of freedom, for me to leave her to face the world alone, or to wait an hour after she would permit me to announce her to men as my wife, would be for me to commit spiritual suicide, and to try to deceive the world in order to win for myself some place or work in it, or some fragment of faith from it. If this confession of life is evil to you, and to all the world, then let it be evil; if to any one on the earth it is good, to that one let it be good. If free and truthful living be the final outcome of things, then the outcome will vindicate us.

"In conclusion let me say, out of justice to you as to myself, that I shall not misrepresent your action, nor put it on other than your own grounds. . . . I am dismissed from the church and its ministry for what you consider to be conduct unbecoming a minister and a gentleman. And your view of the life I have lived, with such service as I have tried to render, only seems to you to confirm your judgment, to which must be added the voluntary testimony of this letter. So I shall accept my dismissal in the terms in which you give it, and I shall not try to evade the consequence of your decision. . . . If anything I may hereafter do or say shall be of service to any one or to any cause, it shall be done or said with the clear understanding that the church is free from any responsibility for such service, and that I am disowned by the church because of its judgment upon my life and character.

"Faithfully yours,

"GEORGE D. HERRON."

Surely "self-expression" minus *self-sacrifice* is by Mr. Herron set down with the fullness of egoism! This masterpiece of blasphemous argument, and of insult to the integrity of the Christian family, may well serve as the epitome of the socialist position relative to the obligations of the husband and father. He has none, for a new "sex fondness" rules them out of existence. Yet this peddler of gush may be questioned:

If it be better for your children to be fatherless, upon your sickly sentimental reason that "the life of a man given to the social revolution" is "the life of an outcast," by what system of logic do you enter into marital association with a possible mother? Is the answer race suicide?

We must differ with you, it does concern the public as "to what friend enabled" you financially to settle your divorce suit! You are a public man, you seek the civil power for the

political party of which you are the leader. It is of public interest that you enter into association with a woman who destroys the happiness of a wife (her sometime household friend), and that four children are made to blush with shame at the honored name of father. We, the public, have the right and the duty to inquire whence this Judas comes. For the especial reason, if none other, that you and your new wife have the audacity to insult the institution of the family. No, the crime cannot be covered with thirty pieces of silver.

Mr. Herron's letter was quite at home in the socialist press. Reading it, one may well imagine he were reading a chapter of Engels, Marx, Bebel, Bax or other socialist classics. We are familiar with the thought expressed by Mr. Herron, that:

"men and women must be economically free . . . free from the interference of legal and ecclesiastical force, and free to correct their mistakes, before we can have a family that is noble, built on unions that are good."

And yet it is quite the fashion, by a sleight o' hand, to protest against socialists being called free lovers. Socialism gains the, we may not say moral, support of many radical men who have not yet propagated the socialist doctrine from a party standpoint. This outside force greatly aids in maintaining the standing of socialists, of the Mr. Herron type, with the rank and file of the organization, for in general workmen are led to believe that socialism is merely a part, the most essential part, of the labor movement. But recently, since Charles Edward Russell as the standard bearer waved the red flag in the state of New York (1911), the outside sympathizers are becoming inside comrades. Following the lead of the "intellectuals" of France, Italy and Spain the cultivated but morally degenerate gentlemen of the pen are finding their political home within the socialist movement.

Divorced from religious teachings, the minds of many persons are hopelessly confused by materialism in its manifold guises. The assertion that men *perforce* obey their class interests robs weak-minded persons of the sense of moral responsibility. "He can't help it, it is the way of his class!" is a sample of the current application of socialist doctrine.

Possibly if Mr. Herron had been "economically free" he would never have gone to visit the Holy Land hand-in-hand with friendship betrayed by lust. Only to think of it! treading the paths of the sacred feet of Him who raised marriage to the dignity of a sacrament! Nothing less than moral degeneracy could have made the emotion of these visits less than tragic. Possibly economic freedom would have been the prop to aid this man in living an honorable life!

Yet could a sincere mind believe it upon reading this sick-sweet stuff from the hero who left a poor wife and took one with money: "For me to leave her (Miss Rand) to face the world alone would be for me to commit spiritual suicide." No, he could not leave Miss Rand alone—but his wife, whom he had said had been his "living conscience," he could leave; not quite alone, for his four children were left fatherless with their deserted mother. Is not this vile cant? Is it not much too sweet to be wholesome?

While the proof is open that spiritual death must have been in evidence some time before Mr. Herron could say of Miss Rand: "She has dedicated my life to the socialist cause of freedom."

By what authority? Does a "spiritual union" after a divorce constitute the woman the head of the free family, under the free religion, in the free society of the free land? Or is the woman the man's boss only along the socialistic way, not on the other side? Really we are in doubt, as our authority is the over-much freedom in the *Coming Nation* (3-28-1903):

"If it is a free land we are after, or a free religion, or a free family, or a wholly free society, we shall find it at the other side of socialism, or along the socialistic way."

At any rate, the *other side of socialism* has not been waited for, and the "pest of socialism" seems to have plenty of "freedom" for desecrating the family and for inciting the down-trodden poor to mutiny and to rage.

Mr. Herron should understand that we have no personal spleen in the matter of his "free family" along the socialistic way. His processes were, no doubt, quite within the civil code as the sometime *reverend* William Thurston Brown re-

cently pointed out, we have never said otherwise. What we have said, and what we do say here is, that Mr. Herron's conduct is the very concreting of socialist principles unto practical life, so far as circumstances will permit. This, we hope, has put a hindrance in the way of making converts. Evidently so, as Mr. Brown protests (*The Christian Socialist*, 2-2-1911), that:

"This misrepresentation, which probably originated with Mrs. Martha Moore Avery and David Goldstein, is merely a part of that mass of misrepresentation which the slaves of convention heap upon all who refuse to conform to established customs."

Precisely! Candor would clear the issue. Mr. Herron's letter to the Congregational Church makes it clear that he does not "believe that the present marriage system is sacred or good." This is what we desire should be clearly understood by the general public as the socialist doctrine regarding monogamy, to phrase it scientifically, or to speak religiously the Christian family. Of course, we know that sociologists are generally aware that free love is strictly in conformity with the philosophies enunciated by the founders and by the promoters of modern socialism.

But because the general public are not so well informed, nor the camp followers of the socialist movement itself, we take this means of warning the body politic of the danger. Besides the direct influence of the immoral lives of many of the leaders, the literature typifying their sex views is increasing rapidly. New books from socialist and radical authors put out a psychology that is entirely at one with "A Socialist Wedding" (*International Socialist Review*, July, 1901) written by Leonard D. Abbott. We quote:

"We were gathered together, we of the inner circle of comradeship, on the last Saturday evening in May. The fragrance and blossom of spring flowers seemed to transform our rooms into a fairy garden; and the strains of a primitive love melody, as they drifted to us were full of mystery and beauty.

"Our comrade, George D. Herron, arose, care-worn and sorrowful as one who has passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, yet strong-hearted and gladsome withal; and beside him stood Carrie Rand, clad in pure vestal white and bearing lilies-of-the-valley in her hand. 'We be-

lieve, friends, in fellowship,' he said, 'and because we believe that fellowship is life we have asked a few of you to let us share with you the fellowship and sacrament of the unity of life which we wish to now announce to you. For many years this unity of life has made us one in fact, but now we wish this unity to become manifest unto the world, and it is to announce to you this marriage of our souls, which is to us a reality before the foundation of the world and which we can conceive of as having no ending, that we have asked you to kindly come together to-night.' Miss Rand responded: 'This is the day and hour which we have chosen to announce to you and the world our spiritual union, which is a fact in the heart of God.'

"The host of the evening, Dr. Charles Brodie Patterson, editor of *The Arena* and *Mind*, next made a brief address. Dr. Patterson was followed by the Rev. William Thurston Brown, of Plymouth Church, Rochester, whose 'Annunciation Service' was a poem in prose. It seemed entirely fitting that this tried and true comrade, whose best labor and thought for many years has been given to the socialist cause, should be here to participate in the dedication of these two lives to the socialist movement. He said:

"I cannot but feel—as all of us must to-day—the impotence of words; fittingly to express or announce to the world that which this occasion means. This is the time and place for the muse of a poet, the speech of god; the office of priest or magistrate were an intrusion here. Better than all would it be if the fact of which we here are conscious might be announced to the world in the sweet strains of some wordless music.

"But since these dear friends and comrades have honored me with the task of speaking for them a word of annunciation concerning this sacred consummation of their life, I joyfully respond. And the one word which above all others impresses itself upon me as suggestive of that which brings us here is the old word 'sacrament.' I know it comes to us from the buried years a-drip with blood and moldy with superstition; and yet, it is a human word, and through it throbs the yearning and struggle and climb of a race. It names an age-long groping after truth—a gleam of the divine—a rift in the clouds disclosing the glory that bathes and interpenetrates the universe. That which calls us here to-day is a sacrament. Not in any conventional sense, but in the elemental significance of the word—a significance which reflects the mind and being of the Eternal and the Infinite.

"Nowhere has the religious institution so nearly approached the frontiers of vital truth as in conceiving marriage to be a sacrament. But nowhere has it departed so far from all that is divine and ennobling as in supposing that any word of priest or prelate can be sacramental. Neither statute nor official, civil or religious, can ever create this sacred thing. Neither has it the smallest sanction to give to that which is sacred, if at all, by the supreme fiat of a pure and perfect love. The divine is not in legislature or council, church or state. It abides forever in human life. Human life alone incarnates God—and laws and civilizations are tolerable only in the measure of their recognition and service of that life.

“We are not here to establish a relationship which otherwise would not have been. We are not here to inaugurate or consummate a marriage. No words of ours or any one’s can add to or take from the truth and solemnity of the sublime fact of a reciprocal love uniting soul to soul by a sanction in presence of which all human enactments seem profane and impertinent, for this is the supreme sacrament of human experience. There is something about it which transcends all other things and proclaims its inherent divinity.

“Nor are we here to lend our countenance to that divine event of which it is our privilege to be witnesses. That which is essentially and elementally true gains nothing from the sanction of individuals or states or nations. We are not here to perform a sacrament, but to receive one—to honor ourselves and enrich all that is best in us by sharing somewhat in the truth and beatitude of these dear friends.

“We are here to-day to announce to the world the oneness of two human souls in a love that reflects and manifests and reproduces somewhat of the essence of that Infinite love which swathes and animates the universe. This oneness no more begins to-day than God does. It has no beginning and can have no end. The discovery of such oneness is the discovery of life—the laying bare the very soul of the Cosmos. Time loses its meaning. There is no yesterday and no to-morrow in the married harmony and the joyous rhythm of two such souls. There is only an eternal now, and life rises above its narrow limitations and seems to merge in All-living and All-loving. Let the fleeting years bring what they may, it cannot matter. Love holds all the years that have been or are to be. Its dominion is universal and its reign eternal. And it lives only to give itself in ever-abounding richness to the hungering needs of men.

“This is a day of joy—overflowing, unsullied, serene; a day of hope—clear, strong, inspiring; a day of faith—laying bare before the souls of men in love’s clear light the realities of the eternal world. It is a day of courage and cheer. It has for the world only a message of freedom and fellowship. It anticipates the dawn of a higher life for all. It proclaims the sancity and omnipotence of love. It asserts the elemental rights of man—the rights that blend with duty and irradiate the skies with hope and gladness.

“If I have any understanding of what this means, it is supremely a gospel. No note of peace or power or purity is wanting. These friends of ours announce to-day their marriage. They do so not primarily because our faulty human laws require it at their hands, but for a deeper and diviner reason. They do not assume that their life belongs to them alone—nor even that this supreme affection which has made them one, disclosed to them the face of God, and transfigured all this earthly life with His shining footprints, is theirs to hoard or hide. In asserting the limitless freedom and the boundless authority of love they but disclose the full-orbed liberty of the sons of God and anticipate a world’s emancipation. They do not announce that they have now separated their life from the rest of the world. They announce a fuller, deeper, richer harmony with

that divine life which is emergent in the unfolding aspirations of the world, than could have been theirs as separate individuals.

"Inasmuch, therefore, as George D. Herron and Carrie Rand are thus united together by the bond of a reciprocal love, I announce that they are husband and wife by every law of right and truth, and I bespeak for them the fervent benediction of all true souls and the abiding gladness that dwells in the heart of God forever."

"As comrade Brown had concluded, Mrs. Rand stepped forward, kissed George D. Herron and his bride, and, with a voice trembling with emotion, invoked blessing on their marriage.

"Each one of the fourteen guests present was now invited to make a verbal offering to the consummation of this love union. Richard Le Galienne, a poet famous on two continents spoke first.

"All the friends that Mr. and Mrs. Herron love," he said, "will love them forever, and will love them all the better because they have had the courage to stand up and say they love each other and that love is all the marriage they need. I feel very honored that I had the opportunity of being present on this momentous occasion, and only wish that I had had longer notice, in order to have prepared an epithalamium worthy of its dignity."

"Two of the Social Democratic comrades spoke next, emphasizing the fact that the marriage meant, above all, more complete consecration to socialism. 'The peculiarly happy thing to me to-night,' said William Mailly, now (1901) national secretary of the socialist party, 'is the knowledge that these two comrades of ours are working shoulder to shoulder in the world-wide movement for the emancipation of the toilers—a movement that is destined to usher in the universal life of leisure and love for all men.'

"The last speaker was Franklin H. Wentworth, formerly editor of the *Socialist Spirit*. 'Having shared the joy and sorrow, the trials and problems, of my two comrades here,' he said, 'it is perhaps fitting that I should say the last word on this occasion, and that this word should be a word of personal affection and comradeship. And yet I must confess that the feeling of joy which I have to-night relates not so directly to them as to the cause, in the service of which we are all enlisted. It seems such a mighty triumph of truth and sincerity in the world that the cause must be helped by this union.' I believe that the high service of each will be helped by the face of these two souls working side by side in mutual sustainment, united—yet free. I feel this strongly because of the strength and uplift which has come into my own life through my comradeship with my own true and noble mate. In the very fact that so large a number of persons as are here assembled can be inspired by the same ideal, I see a demonstration that the truth is beginning to force its way, and dramatize itself in reference to every human institution. There seems in the gathering of such a company a hint of the dawning of the day when the spirit of freedom shall rule the world—freedom of the body, and freedom of the soul.

"Now, in conclusion, there is a personal word I wish to say: I wish to pay a tribute of loving admiration to the woman who was already standing for human freedom when most of us here were children; a woman who all her life long has been far ahead of her time; who has steadfastly stood against all forms of hypocrisy and organized wrong. In her girlhood life this woman was scoffed at because she was an abolitionist—then the most bitterly hated of all reformers. In her middle life she was jeered at first as a free republican and afterwards as a free trader; and now in the time of her age we find her standing bravely 'mid those who believe that the world should take another step toward human freedom, namely, the socialists. In her girlhood she worked for the freedom of the chattel slave, and then lived to see the world come halting after her, accepting the truth she saw. And I believe there is no more fitting prayer which I can offer in her behalf to-night, or which will find a more appreciative response in the staunch soul of Mrs. Rand herself than that she may be spared to witness at least the beginnings of the world's industrial emancipation."

"The gathering broke up, and finally, as a sweet benediction, the bride herself took her seat at the piano and played to us for awhile, pouring out her soul in the interpretation of one of Beethoven's greatest sonatas. And as she played, the memory of a ghoulisn press, of human vultures, of slave-marriage, of cruel capitalism, was blotted out. We saw only the vision of the New Life of Socialism, when the love that made this union holy shall be the only basis of marriage, and when this love, stretching out, shall embrace the common life of the world."

It is the counterfeit which deceives! The marriage that is not a marriage—not a sacrament. It is the counterfeit, the employment of holy words for impure uses which makes the devil formidable. Yet it is a tribute to God from the forces of evil when a modernistic interpretation of what is eternally fixed in design is made, by evolutionary action, to approach the "fortress of vital truth." That same vital truth being the sacrament of marriage, not an adulterous union which the "inner circle of comradeship" were celebrating. It is certainly interesting to note that as human reason insists upon a permanent union as the married state, that the poetical instincts even at a pairing-at-pleasure celebration forgets the facts, that monogamy has been broken and a home deserted to furnish the principal actors for the feast. So self-deception hangs out the corruption of the "inner circle" with nothing less than an amazing, almost a paralyzing impudence to the view of an admiring world. Insisting as against the very opposite conditions which are the necessary preparation that

this legal piece of free love is a sacramental union. The breaker and the deserter of a home were said to be taking upon themselves the "supreme sacrament of human experience," about which, it was alleged, "there was something which proclaims it inherent divinity." But the simple facts in the case proved it to be a piece of heartless cruelty lashed on by the love of the flesh.

Judas' betrayal of his master unto death for gold was a cheap material bargaining with the devil against our Blessed Lord, but this proclaimed "oneness" of two human souls before the foundation of the world puts the treachery of Judas to the blush for shame of its crudeness against the refinement of blasphemy seemingly of second nature to the inner circle of the self-made elect. This man-made "oneness" should in honor still be *twoness* before men.

There is no doubt that this "time loses its name." That the soul in sin is dead to time is a truth of Christian philosophy. But if before repentance, reformation and forgiveness time shall be no more with the sinful soul then no more dead time, but the action of eternal damnation were already begun. Our Blessed Lord came to call sinners, not the just to repentance. Truly if one shall contrast this event—"A Socialist Wedding"—which is held up, by this political atheist force, as ideal before the public gaze, with the underlying facts in the case the hideous skeleton shall come forth in its filth from behind the glowing gases.

The *International Socialist Review* has correctly described it "A Socialist Wedding." Socialist George D. Herron, the hero, the deserter of the marriage bond and the betrayer of the family, rises, out of "the Valley of the Shadow of Death" to give poetic testimony of his guilt. "For many years this unity of life has made us one in fact . . . it is to announce to you this marriage of our souls, which is to us a reality before the foundation of the world." Realities a little closer to the issue were needed to tie honor at home—the reality of the woman he had deserted and the children he had disgraced would have been a much healthier vision for the contemplation of this sin-struck man.

The socialist heroine then arises and says: "We . . . announce to the world our spiritual union." What God hath

joined together let no man put asunder—this is the spiritual Law. Woe be to them who desert this command of God, flattering themselves that the petty passions of a day can endure against His Will.

The socialist, Rev. William Thurston Brown, arose to dedicate these “two lives to the socialist movement.” A most fitting cause for the breakers of home and family! A most fitting arena to display the disruption of faith born of materialist standards. “Priest or magistrate were an intrusion here.” Indeed it is ever out of sight of the representation of the Law that license is committed. “This oneness no more begins to-day than God does.” This is the brazen tongue of brass; it is the voice of the tinkling cymbals of false gods.

The blasphemy of this “Socialist Wedding” is self-evident. But it is veiled from the “socialist mind” by the glamour of false gods, who are invoked in the most extravagant language by the clerical collar socialists. A dishonored union alleged to have been consummated “before the foundation of the world.” It is amazing that such intellectual drunkenness can stand on its legs.

Let us look back a little: After nine years of married life Mr. Herron publishes a book with an acknowledgment of moral helpfulness in language which, even at this period, shows a lack of self-control, a tendency to redundancy in expression to say the least. “I dedicate this

A PLEA FOR THE GOSPEL

1892

to my wife MARY EVERHARD HERRON
who has been to me a living conscience.”

Having exposed his “living conscience” to the mock of the world, a reflection were now worth while: whether the example set by those of the “privileged classes” in buying divorces is or not the wickedest and most corrupting influence afloat upon this spiritually barren age?

“We privileged classes are wickedly insensible to the fact that, to the majority of human beings in what we call Christendom, the sensations of drink and sexuality are the only experiences which make life

interesting; the only things that give anticipation and romance to life; the only sacraments of human fellowship, save the common misery and poverty." ("Between Cæsar and Jesus," George D. Herron, page 83.)

It were well to consider! Is it obedience to Cæsar—to atheism, to mammon, to sex sensation, in one word to socialism, which causes a man to leave a "living conscience?" Or would obedience to the one true God cause a man to shun such a course as the devil is said to shun holy water?

None but the vile will dance in the flickering light of "socialist weddings" when once American citizens are aroused to the fact that the socialist party under the war cry of "free land," "free family," "free society" lures the race to its own destruction.

On May 26th, 1901—two months after George D. Herron's divorce—*The Worker* said editorially, "some capitalist editors and preachers manufactured a scandal about Comrade Herron." This is merely the application of socialist tactics in his case. This is *The Worker's* way of manufacturing socialist sentiment, which later is expected to develop into "socialist minds." The "capitalist editors" did not make a scandal, it was *The Worker's* "Comrade Herron" who made the scandal. The "capitalist editors" have signally failed in opening this case up to public view. They have failed to realize that "Comrade Herron's" scandal was the socialist marriage philosophy put into practice—a little before the time, so with necessary hindrances.

There is no apology from the socialist press. On the contrary its defense is ample, it is even strenuous, and it is coupled with its complement a slap at marriage. And this, notwithstanding they still fight shy, at times and in places very shy, of the term free love which directly tells the whole tale. We quote from the *Haverhill Social Democrat*, July 2, 1901, in answer to the *Haverhill Gazette*, which took George D. Herron to task for certain passages in his reply to the Congregational Church of Grinnell, Iowa:

"It is very doubtful, however, whether it was ignorance that prompted the editor to assert that the attack on the home by Herron is a fragment of European socialism which the American exponents have hitherto declared they would not adopt. There is no such thing as European

socialism or American socialism. There is only one kind of socialism the world over—*international socialism*, which means everywhere the same, among the socialists of Haverhill as well as among the socialists of a city of similar size in Germany, France, Belgium or England.

"Herron has been quoted by the capitalist press as saying that he does not believe that the present marriage system is sacred or good. We repeat the same. The truth cannot be avoided even when dealing with questions of a most delicate nature.

"What is there *sacred* in the modern home? Can anything be sacred which is based on a lie, or on impurity, or on ignorance?

"The marriage system to-day is based on impurity, on ignorance and on a big lie. People marry not for love; therefore modern marriage cannot be sacred."

Indeed! this is frankly doctrinal. The marriage system is neither "sacred nor good." What then is the *present system* of marriage? The present marriage system is the Christian family, resting upon the natural foundation of monogamy, elevated to a sacrament by our Blessed Lord Himself. It is true that it is in many instances degraded by a mere civil marriage; and it is insulted and denied by divorce. Yet here throughout Christendom stands the fact of the sacrament of marriage, maintained in its integrity by millions of persons. With this overwhelming testimony in full view, socialists looking only upon the abnormal, upon the debauched conditions of life, conclude that the extremes, the degraded states, are the ordinary practices of mankind. Hence socialist standards for judgment are not merely intellectually absurd, they are morally vicious. To the socialist inquiry, what is there "sacred" in the modern home may come the simple and truthful reply: The self-sacrifice, bringing its heavenly reward here and now in the home, of the father and mother in bringing up a family of children to the glory of God and to the defense of their country. But we know very well that this is altogether too wholesome and too sweet for the jaded taste of those who are sick with sin.

The Advance, the Official Organ of the Socialists of the Pacific Coast delivers itself in a tirade against a San Francisco newspaper for assuming that George D. Herron and his followers have the habit of "viewing marriage loosely" and of "attempting to cancel the line that divided honesty from dishonesty."

We are indebted for this phrase; it covers the issue profoundly in conflict. Socialism maintains that honesty has no active opposite dishonesty, so, also, that virtue has no active opposite vice. Hence honesty is an evolutionary state; and the "slave marriage"—the permanent union of honest folk—shall be "blotted out." For socialist leaders, under the spell of the "benediction" in which the bride poured out her soul,

"saw only the vision of the New Life of socialism, when the love that made this union holy shall be the only basis of marriage, and when this love, stretching out, shall embrace the common life of the world."

We quote:

"*The San Francisco Call* is rapidly winning for itself the proud distinction of being the representative of capitalism *par excellence*. For unscrupulous falsification and contemptible, sneaking, underhanded methods of personal attack is gaining a record that will make the yellow sheets turn green with envy. When our Comrade George D. Herron was divorced and re-married *The Call* seized with ghoulish glee upon the misrepresentations of the news trust, the Associated Press, gave an extra twist to the already distorted facts, and indulged its hatred of socialists in a fanatically venomous attack on Herron. Since its first outburst of rage upon a man who dared and dares to speak and live the truth, it has ceaselessly searched for facts and alleged facts to throw discredit on the socialist movement."

Here again is the "attempt to cancel the line which divides honesty from dishonesty." The *San Francisco Call* is berated for setting forth the very facts that the socialist papers themselves set forth. Socialist leaders are lavish with sacred words in describing their ecstasy over the establishment of a "free family" *along the socialist way*, but the *San Francisco Call* uses sacred words as they are meant to be used, not for the vile purpose to which they were put in describing "a socialist wedding."

Just at this point we desire to show that nothing but encomium was meted out to Mr. Herron for daring to say that marriage is neither "sacred nor good," and for living up to his convictions against the "marriage system" of permanent unions. We quote:

"*An Ovation given to Comrade Herron at his last lecture.*"

"The welcome received, came not alone as a tribute to the man who has been on the firing line of the Social Revolution for several weeks, the victim of a pitiless persecution by an unscrupulous enemy, but also as an

endorsement of the principles for the promulgation of which he has undoubtedly been made to suffer. . . . If any man present doubted before the meeting that Comrade Herron understood scientific socialism, his doubts must have been completely dispelled. There was no equivocation in the presentation of the claims of the socialist movement. There could be no compromising, no remedying, no reforming the capitalist system. The movement could not tolerate patching up a bad system that was wrong in its essence and its foundations, when Comrade Herron summed up the case in these terse words: 'We don't want to reform anything: we want to revolutionize everything,' he received his answer in a shout of approval from his listeners.' (*The Worker*, 5-19-1901.)

Truly, Mr. Herron had just met with something of the righteous protest which might be expected by one who, instead of more fully applying Christian principles to modern society, as he had promised to do, had let loose the dogs of war upon it, beginning with his own family at home. Indeed, socialists know their own! They do not want to "reform anything," they want to "revolutionize everything." Use moderation? We will use moderation, said Victor Berger; we'll cut off the dog's tail close behind his ears. Which is to say their own will is what they desire, not to do God's will. They have persuaded themselves that the society which they would organize would leave them free from the mandates of the natural law; that then in fact the Ten Commandments would be obsolete, not merely "unscientific" from being out-of-date, by their reckoning. Hence not alone socialists join in the ovation to "Comrade Herron," as credit comes from all sorts of blasphemers, intellectual and otherwise. From pantheists—materialistic and spiritualistic,—from monists of every shade, from free thinkers, from those who hate Christ and Him crucified for love of us.

It is true that sincere folk of untrained minds are dazed by the blare, blare, blare of brass voices which shout the praises of a time that shall be "better than well," all the while giving vent to class hatred. These folk stand all the day idle of mind, waiting for some master call to do duty on the side of right; a servant must be sent into the highways and the byways to take them away from the influence of the socialist leaders; they will not come to right reason on their own initiative.

The great body of trade unionists are the especial prey of those who have not the slightest consciousness of being sinners.

These bodies are betrayed into meddling with the political issue of woman suffrage which is in contradiction to their own basic principles and dead against their practical efforts to secure "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." Hence basically and practically the unions recognize the family as the economic unit of society by demanding a living wage—a family wage—which socialism denies and degrades. The body politic must rue the day of its neglect if it shall not make a stand for the just rights of the unions and so come practically to their rescue as against the powerful psychology of socialist leaders.

Aye, indeed, the *socialist revolution* does not imply the improvement of society; not any reform whatsoever! It is big with the launching of a new society. Blind force has set in motion a "free society;" for economic determinism has fashioned the race up to the "present order." Now the class conscious leaders will lend a hand to the nonconscious process, and by overturning the capitalist class thereby create a "classless society." If, ah! if, something should not happen to break the point of the revolution, as according to Marx it has been broken time and again. God grant that it shall be broken by the stampede of socialist women themselves, back to the protection within the true Fold. It was Christianity which rescued women from a heathen degradation and from savage hardship; once again woman may hear the voice of command: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself; and so quit the orgie of the revolution.

What higher authority within the socialist movement of this country than *The Worker* could have put the seal of approval upon "Comrade Herron's" understanding of scientific socialism? The seal of approval upon the disruption of the family as progress along the way?

And yet another stamp of honor is given to him whose ears and eyes are closed to all but the sins which pollute and the folly which foolishness engenders. We quote:

"A PROPOSED CAPITALIST BOYCOTT.

"That there is a motive in the continual publication of false and malicious statements by the daily press anent Comrade George D. Herron must be apparent to even the most unsophisticated. That the motive is a dastardly one and worthy of its source is becoming plainer every day.

"The reason for the unanimity of action on the part of papers that otherwise appear to conflict in the political and theological views is not far to seek. We have before stated that the reason for it can be found in the fact that Comrade Herron has not only antagonized the organized church in its Christless attitude toward social problems and their solution, but because he has struck bold and deep at the foundation of social injustice, at the source from which the organized church draws its sustenance—the capitalist system of wage slavery.

"Confirmation for this statement is found in an article in *The Outlook* itself. Commenting in the usual strain upon Comrade Herron's marriage—a marriage morally and legally correct—it closes by saying:

"The only penalty which an offender can be made to feel is empty audience rooms and unmarketable books, and visit this penalty on Dr. Herron."

"In these words is laid bare the full animus of the attack upon Comrade Herron. It is not his supposed 'sin' that frightens the slavish souls of his detractors—it is the message he brings in the written and spoken word that causes fear and alarm among the enemies of the exploited working classes. If Comrade Herron can be ostracised by the public, if those he wishes to reach and rouse to a proper realization of the monstrous conditions existing to-day could be induced to turn away from him with eyes and ears closed to righteousness and reason then his traducers would rest well satisfied.

"But these sages know neither the time nor the people. Comrade Herron will be heard, and the people will listen because the time for him, and such as he, to speak and be heard is now. The people can no more be prevented from hearing the truth of socialism than can the persecution of Comrade Herron prevent him from speaking it. And his vindication must as surely follow after as it is inevitable that socialism will triumph against all the obstacles great and small, that may be thrust in its pathway toward victory." (Editorial, *The Worker*, 6-6-1901.)

Socialist leaders ever come to the defense of the knights of the "free family." Dozens of instances of national importance could be cited. That of Mr. English Walling (1911) has just been to the fore. Although this leader has not been so popular as Mr. Herron, due attention and newspaper space was lavished upon him for openly defending the right to use one's sex as one pleases, regardless of the commands of Almighty God, of the consequences to the body politic, or of the disgrace and distress of one's partner in "sex fondness."

Of course the only justification for rehearsing these outrages against decent living is that the general public may read as they run the truth about the influence upon society of these

socialist leaders, whose persistent and forceful propaganda seeks the control of our government to their iniquitous ends.

Mr. Herron was not maligned. No! Neither false nor malicious statements were published against him. The truth was altogether too bad. The professor of applied Christianity had betrayed a public trust. The husband, father, had betrayed his sacred obligations to his family. Under his own signature never contradicted nor retracted by that letter flung far and wide by the socialist movement, their "lily-white" comrade stands self-condemned of all the public press accused him of.

The socialist press should not mislead intelligent men by wholesale insinuations and slander against the Congregational Church; nor against the "Council;" neither against the general public.

It was in the interest of public morality and safety to "invite an investigation" into the private affairs of this public personage, for his influence was considerable throughout the nation.

Marriage has a twofold character, it is public or social and it is private or individual. Consequently if marriage be broken, it is the right, nay it is the duty which society owes to its present peace and its future welfare, to examine into divorce, which because of the hardness of men's hearts has been set up within the civil court. But as socialists see in this exercise of public duty nothing but "the hypocritical and inconsistent . . . pretensions of the corrupt and servile defenders and beneficiaries of the present system," it is quite useless to expect fair play in discussion upon this or any kindred subject. Just as liberty reads license to them, so does billingsgate stand for argument.

Neither can the attempt to give this case an economic turn pass current, save with the "socialist mind." The marriage system was not introduced as a part of economic evolution. But it was and it is a part of the Original Design of human society. Therefore neither an attack upon the church nor the insistence that Mr. Herron is a martyr because he has struck bold and deep at the foundation of social injustice, can cover over the bad influence of this socialist leader upon society.

Neither can such dissembling show any vital connection between marriage as an established fact of human society and the extortions of the capitalist class or with the unnecessary hardships of wage earners.

By insisting that Mr. Herron's marriage is morally correct, (of course we do not dispute its legality,) it is evident that morality and legality are interchangeable terms in socialist philosophy. Orrather, the fact is that within a system of thought which repudiates God as the author of phenomena, Who is within and yet distinct from His creation, has not the remotest place for morality, when properly understood. In truth this "Socialist Wedding" should be censured on less ground than that of morality; on the score of good taste it should be pronounced abominable. We submit that the entrance of two women, mother and daughter, into a house as especial family friends, with the result of a visit by the husband with the two women to the holy land, and the later result of the husband's divorce—the desertion of the wife—the fatherless children—and the still later result of the man's marriage with the younger of the women (not to mention the public insults to the dignity and sacredness of the marriage institution) should give to Mr. Herron's second marriage a tone quite degraded from the manners becoming to a free and enlightened people. That Mr. Herron is a martyr to his convictions, is too cheap even for gulls.

The pastor of the Congregational Church in Grinnell, Rev. E. M. Vittum, over his signature writes as follows:

"Any statement that he has been persecuted by his church on account of heresy or socialism is an absolute falsehood. For some time past there have been increasing suspicions as to his moral character, culminating, when a divorce, with custody of the children, was granted Mrs. Herron. The charges against his character will be dealt with by the church, but without haste or excitement. Our church does not believe in lynching."

A statement drafted by Professor Parker, was signed by the mayor and a score of the leading citizens of Grinnell. In part it reads as follows:

"What we know of Mr. Herron's life and efforts to induce his wife to ask for a divorce, of the methods understood to have been employed by him to bring it about, of her generosity towards him even now, of the declarations unfavorable to her which seem to us to have originated with

him, compels every one here, so far as we know or have learned, to sympathize with her and to deem him a cruel and faithless husband." (*Congregationalist*, May 4, 1901.)

Quite in extreme contrast is the estimate of Mr. Herron by his comrades, as we have shown. It should be known that the socialist papers guard closely their columns in the interest of the "class-conscious." They alone are to be trusted to give to the rank and file the key note and the words to be sung upon special occasions. As a last example we quote from the columns of the *Haverhill Social Democrat* (5-4-1901):

"THE MAN HERRON.

"Men of any spiritual sensitiveness were compelled instinctively to recognize the fact that a prophet had appeared among them—a man with a message which the world must hear and reckon with.

"But it was as impossible for Dr. Herron to be supported by any ordinary religious institution, as it was for Jesus to be so supported. Jesus could not have been maintained by any institution of his day and country. They had no use for him, nor he for them. . . . Not a church in the United States or out of it could be founded that would tolerate him as its minister. Neither could one be found on the earth that would afford a living support to a man like Jesus of Nazareth.

"But there is a law of adaptation in the universe. Where there is demand there will sooner or later be supply. . . . Mrs. Rand felt that this preacher was right—divinely right . . . she had been waiting to devote her wealth to the purpose of changing the system.

"The opportunity had come in the person of Dr. Herron. She had seen he could not be supported by his church, or any other church. She felt that he ought to have a wider hearing and therefore established at her personal expense 'a department to be known as the Department of Applied Christianity,' with Dr. Herron at the head.

"There was in this experience of Dr. Herron a singular likeness to what occurred in the life of Jesus. The only hint we have of the source of personal contribution to the support of Jesus is that which mentions certain women as giving of their means to defray his living expenses while he was preaching in Galilee. When Dr. Herron could no longer hope for support from any source whatever in the propagation of his faith, a consecrated woman alone insured the continuance of his ministry and assured the people of this country the privilege of hearing and reading the message which has made Dr. Herron the greatest prophet of modern times. . . . Precisely the same thing was true in the case of Jesus. He could get a living as a carpenter perhaps; but after he had begun to preach his revolutionary doctrines it was quite possible that his chances of getting a living at any trade would be slim.

"But the question is whether Jesus had any right to go back to the work of a carpenter after he became conscious of the truth that made him a prophet. That question admits of but one answer. Jesus would have been the most despicable man that ever lived, if, after becoming conscious of the truths he taught, he had not fearlessly and at any cost proclaimed them. Nothing whatever could excuse him from doing that.

"The principle is exactly the same in the case of Dr. Herron. He had no choice but to give utterance to his convictions. The fact that obedience to those convictions might mean sorrow and pain to himself and to others could not weigh an atom."

Let no man think that this blasphemous gush which passes indeed beyond the bounds of historical sanity is at all unusual to socialist propaganda, for it is common talk with those over whom Christian faith still holds a lingering influence. Within a movement which reeks with sacrilege this is the mildness of the turtle dove. Yet its very lack of hostile words in attacking Christian truth makes it a most formidable enemy within circles of decadent Protestantism. All unawares its wicked psychology steals in upon the starved emotions, taking captive both men and women whose repudiation of a man-made-christianity is creditable to their common-sense. If only St. Thomas were their instructor in right-reason; if only they could see how simple it is to reconcile a good God and a bad world, socialist leaders would go elsewhere for converts. With a clear understanding of the fact that fundamental principles limit rational phenomena within proscribed limits, it would then be possible for this class of socialists to find out the reason why "Dr. Herron could not be hampered by the restraints of tradition and custom." It was not merely the formalities of thought and deed which Dr. Herron attacked, he assailed the fundamental elements which hold society together as a coherent body. Such an one is a law-breaker—he does not extend the liberties of the people by throwing off the "restraints of tradition and custom," but he enslaves such of the people as follow him, just as he has enslaved himself, by setting up lawlessness for a new order—for a superior régime—to that which God ordained. Of course we have the *power* to set up a little petty kingdom of chaos for all who choose to be our subjects therein, but we have not the right to do so, for God's will is our work here on earth. Mr. Herron locked the door

opening out to freedom against himself, and we hear he has thrown the key away, for the ten years that are passed since "the message" was delivered in full has shown no sign of his knocking at the door, having suffered penance. So it is that "the message" which socialists say makes "Dr. Herron the greatest prophet of modern times," is that same old message which has ever found dancers to its tunes. But alas for the dancers! they are heavily taxed by their fiddler, and their toll grows heavier by the day. We hope there shall be a returning faith in those eternal principles which alone hold the heart of humanity to sweet reasonableness and to honorable judgments.

Consider the vulgarity of the running comparison of this sick sweet phrasemonger with Jesus Christ! Is it not revolting to good sense? And note that after becoming *conscious* "of the truths he taught" Jesus would have become the most despicable man who ever lived if he had not allowed women to support him at the task of giving His message. Which message is assumed by these evolutionists to be, because of the earlier period, not quite so great as this of the "modern prophet." All this crass ignorance from men who would scorn an authoritative interpretation of the Bible. Yet without apology they follow a self-set-up leader as being the only sufficient expositor of God's Word. Failing to turn aside religious institutions to their immoral interpretations, these ex-minister socialists are the most pliant servants of his majesty—the prince of mental darkness. They are the most seductive; in speech they turn the power of God's Word to work the downfall of faith, which in some men's breasts burns all too feebly to resist the glitter of the earthly paradise which may be had for a vote.

The unspeakable assumption of the party press in comparing its political leader to Jesus of Nazareth, makes the pen pause. A party leader, too, who had just committed the act of putting away an honorable wife, so plainly in violation of one of the foremost decrees of the Master, who established marriage as a sacrament. Certainly such an outrage upon sober sense ought to meet with the intolerance of every right-minded man—of every man who stands for the integrity of the family within this nation.

It should be realized by those who say "socialism's all right for the future," that the movement not alone tolerates the home breaker, but sets him upon the highest pinnacle of socialist fame, and for what? For breaking the moral law which holds society within its duly progressive course, as the stars are by physical law held to their orbits.

Just a touch of personal history may not be amiss at this point, for it relates to our quarrel with socialist leaders on the issue of the free family.

At the time that this sentiment was sweeping through the socialist press the then editor of the *Haverhill Social Democrat* while addressing a public meeting in Boston referred to Dr. Herron as the second Jesus Christ. At the close of the lecture, upon the opening of the discussion which followed, Martha Moore Avery and others of our group declared war upon the current blasphemy within the socialist movement. It was a sharp turning point from a personal point of view, not very clearly seen at the time, but it progressively came to our minds as the point at which we were confronted with this issue: Was the socialism which had animated the minds and hearts of our little group of Boston workers one and the same with the "International Revolutionary Scientific Socialism" of the party? We set to work to test it. And it must be confessed that our zeal in the interest of the wage workers had long prevented our seeing that it was not. There was in fact a radical disagreement, which had for years been demonstrated, negatively, by the internal opposition to our work—especially to the work of Mrs. Avery.

It came at last clearly to view that the socialism of our little band was not the socialism of those loyal adherents to *international revolutionary scientific socialism*, not the socialism of those persons who made the mould and of those party members who now hold the mould with which socialism is stamped. We give over freely and without a shadow of bitterness the name socialism. Thankful we were that the opposition to us as personal workers was sharp enough and that on the other hand our hostility to their philosophy and practice was strong enough to mark clearly the lines of separation between the

two opposing camps. And these camps are none other than those of right-reason and of false-reason.

The battle was opened up with passion. Mrs. Avery asked was this glorification for selfishness and lust the cause to which she had given so many years of devoted labor? Was it true that the sex philosophy of Marx and Engels was after all the real issue of the socialist movement under the cloak of a political party organized for economic reasons only? If so she would have none of it. Did socialism really stand for the disruption of the home? Did socialism, as had always been asserted by so many, many members, stand committed to atheism as its religious creed? If so she was as ready to give her life work against it as she had heretofore been glad to give her life to it, thinking to promote the industrial wellbeing of the working class in particular and the advancement of society in general.

By turning our attention to the literature circulated to make propaganda, these questions were answered. It may justly seem strange that constant workers for the movement knew so little of it. But we think it will be clear to the candid mind when the facts are considered. None of us were Christians. But the ground of right-reason was becoming an intellectually tangible fact. Namely, the Author of Original Design within and yet exterior to His creation; myself as His rational creature gifted with the positive art principle which animals have not, second; third, all other phenomena, thus making up the three dimensions of human thought. Hence how to think rationally was becoming an art, not to be forgotten. An art to practice in the understanding of socialism.

Besides, being quite well satisfied that in time the movement would outgrow its crassness, the study of economics had for years taken the attention from off the content of the literature being circulated to make propaganda, and, too, it is easy to confess that we anticipated the advent of men of American breeding in sufficient numbers to swamp the foreign directorship of the party in the United States. And in that way we thought to throw off the isms which clung to the party. But this was vain. As we have said the ex-ministers of American birth and culture are the most forceful propagandists of Marx-

ian philosophy, as atheism by their speech wears a mask of religious sentiment over its murky face.

Moreover, our Boston School of Political Economy, with Mrs. Avery at its head, as Director, had taken a large share of our time and intellectual effort. We had for years been delving into the principles of political economy. And although we had discarded Marxian economics to a great extent, we had not yet exactly seen the futility of the collective ownership of the means of production as a practical measure of relief to the overburdened working class. Thus a lingering confidence in the idea that socialism could be of benefit to the working class had, despite the constant and fierce friction between us and other influential members of the national and local movement, kept us at work in the Socialist Party.

Then followed the resolutions offered at the Massachusetts Socialist State Convention (1902). These resolutions called for the official sanction only of such speakers as kept their platform utterances clear from attacks upon religion and the church; clear from "free love" and "free family" sentiments. The resolutions did not pass. But a forceful current of vilification did set in against the promoters and the supporters of it. This was more testimony in evidence that the Socialist Party will not tolerate any interference with the propagation of its philosophy as laid down by its founders and by its leading, its influential, propagandists.

In the discussion which followed the presentation of the resolutions, we were hissed and jered for bringing up the matter. With a fine display of socialist tactics we were declared unable to bring proof that the current socialist literature was filled with the advocacy of "free love." And with a skillful throwing of dust in the eyes that were just beginning to open to the truth, the leaders asserted that the socialists of Germany had declared religion to be a private matter, and that they would do likewise. That should settle the doubts of those delegates who feared an attack upon the home.

It was then that this book was conceived. The public should be furnished with the avenue through which the facts in the case are easily accessible. The extent of the advocacy of these doctrines amazed us. The boldness with which the

literature exhibited its philosophy gave full proof many hundred times over that the socialist dye was sun-proof; it will not wash out nor will it fade away.

With the full proof came the conviction that socialism is the devil fish with its fangs tightening about the limbs of our government. With the conviction, nothing in conscience was left for those of us who up to our full opportunity, had placed our lives at the disposal of this cause, who had served the cause as though it were that of the good God, but to turn right about face, cost what it would, and tell the public what it had taken us so long to learn, that socialism is a pest to the life of the world.

But this is ancient history, and "Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children," (an eloquent title, the *Boston Herald* says), has run through its first edition of five thousand. Now, since the country is just awakening to the danger of which, more than a quarter of a century ago, the Vicar of Christ warned the faithful by those masterful encyclicals, "Christian Democracy" and the "Condition of Labor," there is prospect of a large circulation.

Indeed, upon leaving the movement our group had no credit anywhere. Now, in God's own time, we are more than sufficiently rewarded by the confidence of *those who know*.

Mr. Herron, was evidently, too frequently reminded of his past to enjoy a tandem family in his own country, as he has lived abroad in recent years. However, he has not been forgotten by his comrades at home. The Rand School is a constant reminder of his second-handed bounty; and now and again his case is reviewed to make out the immoral moral, or to show cowardly desertion as the part of valor. We quote from the Berger organ—*Social Democratic Herald* (9-28-1907):

"The editor of one of the evening papers has dragged the bones of the Herron scandal into the light again, and, with the usual relish of the hypocritical capitalist morality, takes great pains to show what an awful thing it was. The capitalist morality likes to strain at gnats and swallow camels. Although we do not defend it, we will say that compared with the average of marital rotteness that exists in our present-day capitalist society, the Herron case was really light colored. Love had ceased in the Herron household, at least on one side, which being the case, the doctor felt that the moral thing to do was to end the martial relations, making

provision for the economic safety of the wife and children. A divorce was secured, and Herron was then united to the woman of whom he had become enamored. Following the capitalistic habit he might have continued to immorally cohabit without love in his home, and had illicit relations outside, which is no crime under capitalism, so long as it is kept covered up. But he chose a different course."

This, as may be seen, is extremely cautious, though the explanation is not far to seek. Socialists were just about to take up the reins of city government in Milwaukee, so at all hazards the astutest politician of them all did not startle those Polish Catholic voters who were being led to believe that they should vote for just the opposite of what they really wanted.

Eugene V. Debs is neither cautious nor a politician. In *The Worker* (10-2-1904), Mr. Debs, with an eloquence worthy of a good cause, declares that Prof. Herron is

" . . . dowered with the intellectual powers of a giant and the moral heroism of a martyr.

"The pure and lofty thought and the rare moral courage so beautifully blended in his character have made it possible for George D. Herron to live up to his ideals, to be true to his stainless self and set an example that the ignorant and brutal present may effect to despise, but that the enlightened and human future will gladly follow; and he will live in honored memory when his detractors are forgotten."

An article in *The Outlook* (3-20-1909), by Col. Theodore Roosevelt brought socialist leaders up with so round a turn that the enforced pause gave them time to consider in fear and trembling.

We quote from our ex-President's editorial:

"Moreover the ultra-socialists of our country have shown by their attitude towards one of their leaders, Mr. Herron, that so far as law and public sentiment will permit, they are now ready to realize their ideals set forth by their authorities."

Although Robert Rives La Monte is over bold even for a socialist leader, this is what he said, or rather how La Monte refused to meet Col. Roosevelt's resolute charge:

"I am unwilling to dignify this by any answer save the bare statement of the fact that Mr. Herron was legally divorced from his first wife and married to his second wife by a ceremony that is recognized as legal and binding by the laws of the State in which it occurred—New York." (*International Socialist Review*, May, 1909.)

The Colonel's attack was a crucial point to pass, even though our doughty ex-President was himself in Africa. Socialist leaders knew very well it would be a fatal blow to the movement to set before the newspaper public in its nakedness their free-love doctrine, which had been provoked. Unlike Rives La Monte, Mr. Morris Hillquit could not refuse to speak, neither could he remain silent; was he not, together with the Herrons, a trustee of the Rand School fund? As something must be said, it should be much and nothing, so Mr. Hillquit declared that George D. Herron is "a man of absolute purity of character." By the standard of "sex fondness," of course.

Not so with *Gene*; dear brave Debs has all the courage of his motley convictions. He can paint the lily and adorn the rose, and as easily perfume a stench and make palatable the carrion crow. *Gene* comes straight out in the "Appeal to Treason" with his whole heart in his voice:

"MORAL UPRIGHTNESS OF SOCIALISTS."

"Surely it must be regarded as a rare tribute to the moral uprightness of the three million American socialists that only one can be found among them all to serve Mr. Roosevelt's dire necessity of a horrible example. But even this lone individual must be denied him. It is true that a slanderous capitalist press has seemingly succeeded in fitting him for that indecent role, but those who know him know that Christ himself was not more cruelly maligned by the pharisees of his day, and that a purer soul never walked this earth.

"What are the facts? Listen, Mr. Roosevelt! The man whose misfortune you seize upon as an excuse to stab socialism in the back, and whom you crucify in public with the malignity of a dragon, was born in poverty and married as a mere boy. In his maturer life, realizing to his unspeakable sorrow that he did not love the woman he wed he was lawfully separated from her, by mutual consent, and lawfully married the woman he did love. In this he simply did what thousands of your republican friends have done and for which every decent man honors them, seeing that prostitution is never so vile and shocking to every moral sensibility as when practiced within the marriage relation.

"You have never criticized any of your republican friends for exercising this lawful right and moral duty, and you would never have dreamed of dragging our comrade into the limelight had he also been a republican instead of a socialist—and you know it!

"But I am not yet through with you, Mr. Roosevelt. The gentleman prepared by your foul and slanderous press to serve as your horrible example because he dared to speak the truth never in all his life tasted

liquor or tobacco, never uttered a profane word, never polluted his lips with a lie, never played a game of chance, never spoke an unkind word to his family and never crossed the threshold of a bawdy house. Can you and your intimate associates truthfully say the same?

"And yet this is the man you dare to lay wanton hands upon to convict the socialist movement of immorality." (*The Appeal to Reason*, 5-1-1909.)

Perhaps no better example of palliating mortal sins by harping on the non-committal of acts, only one of which is necessarily vicious, could be found. The ethical wickedness is not so easily seen to the depth of its malice by those persons to whom some petty virtue overshadows the weightier matters of the law. To play a game of chance, or to smoke tobacco, is no vice at all under right relations. As for never uttering an unkind word, what but goodness with no edge to it, is this when set over against the deliberate and persistent cruelty of a visit to the Holy-land in company with the women who are paying the bills of a husband with his wife and children at home, living, perhaps, upon some of that same "tainted money?" This is a case of handing out scorpions in place of bread by the wholesale.

We should be glad to leave *Socialist Leaders* at the date of the wedding, but that might be construed to mean that the more recent examples of putting their philosophy into practice are not so typical, so flagrant as those we have given. This would be an error. As the movement grows stronger the defense of their doctrine is bolder, especially when with its bit in the teeth, passion makes its own defense.

It was not the irony of fate which compelled, but evidently a free choice, when in *The Call* (Nov. 23-1908), a socialist leader wrote on the subject: "Does Socialism Break Up the Home?" Being strictly "scientific" in theory the writer finds:

"The first condition of a happy home is a secure and steady income. Socialism will free humanity from its economic chains. Humanity cannot be full spiritually as long as it is not full economically, as long as the making of a living consumes all energy and strength.

"The second condition of happy family life is a union based on love and respect. As long as the dread of poverty exists, marriage will not be based upon love."

Taking the writer at her word, as poverty did not exist in her home, the first condition of a happy family life was

present. So there was not even the socialist excuse for the wanton conduct of this member of the National Woman's Committee on Socialist Propaganda.

This writer is not an obscure person in Boston. She may sign M. D. after her name; is a frequent delegate to socialist conventions, a contributor to their newspapers and magazines. At her home the most noted guests of the party were entertained; in short, Dr. Antoinette F. Konikow is a woman of international fame in the socialist movement.

When Gorky was the doctor's guest, she complained that she had not the time to tell every private questioner just why Gorky's relation with Andrieva was moral. So, through the public press she would simply announce that she was absolutely sure that it was moral.

Faneuil Hall, Tremont Temple and other large halls were denied the committee of arrangements for the Gorky meeting, whereupon the following statement was issued:

"We acknowledge our defeat in our attempt to procure a hall in Boston large enough to hold Gorky's admirers. But in reality it is a glorious victory. . . . The silent acquiescence of the press has apparently sanctioned these methods, but while Gorky's greatness has been in no wise diminished, nor the cause he represents retarded, cultured Boston has been covered with a blot by its ignominious action. . . . While there is no doubt but that there are thousands and thousands of Bostonians eager to welcome Gorky and express admiration for him, he does not care for any ovations. His whole life is wrapped up in the desire to aid Russia to free herself, and as for vindications, the narrow-minded and zealous who would be guardians of the public morals, have by their actions, erected a pedestal of glory for Maxim Gorky.

"We, the hoodlums, only hope, for the sake of Boston's fair name that cultured Bostonians look, with us, upon this defeat as a defeat for all who helped and continue to help this city to be the Athens of America.

"DR. M. J. KONIKOW,

"DR. ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW,

"MICHAEL POLTANOVITZA,

"BERNARD MARCUS,

"REV. JOHN EILLS,

"FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH." (*Boston Herald* 5-4-1906).

A little later than the Gorky episode, Mrs. Konikow, the wife of a successful physician, the mother of children, left Boston for New York with her "soul-mate," a young Russian com-

rade who had shared the hospitality of the home which the husband said had before been happy. And what was the defense for leaving a home of twenty five years, her husband and children? Aye, truly, she gave in the concrete the full force of the socialist doctrine, namely the right of a woman to bestow herself in obedience to her own fondness for one of the opposite sex. "I love him, I cannot give him up."

However, we shall call upon the public press to tell the story as it came out later, when divorce proceedings were instituted. We quote:

"I LOVE HIM! WIFE'S CONFESSION LEADS KONIKOW TO COURT.

"Mrs. Antoinette Konikow, wife of Boston doctor, sued for divorce because she would not give up soul-mate's love.

"Dr. Moses J. Konikow, the well-known socialist leader, who is suing his wife, Dr. Antoinette F. Konikow, like himself high in the councils of the socialist cult, and known in both America and Europe for a divorce, gave his testimony before Judge Fessenden in the divorce session of the Superior Court to-day.

"It was extremely interesting, showing plainly the liberal views held by Mrs. Konikow on the subject of the marriage relation and explains in part her anger at the society people of Boston, who objected to Max Gorky's relations with Madame Andreieva, the actress, who came to America with him and who is now Mrs. Gorky. At that time, the Konikows threw their doors open for Gorky and his companion when they were turned out of several Boston hotels after having a similar experience in New York.

"STORY OF AFFINITY.

"The husband testified to-day that his wife's friendship with one N. Gursenberg, a young Russian student of Appleton street, was objectionable.

"The Konikows were married in the early 70's in Geneva. They came to Boston in 1903. They have two daughters, handsome young women now. In December, 1907, his wife left him.

"The trouble began in 1906,' he said. 'Before that we were very happy. Then we met young Gursenberg, who called frequently. I noticed after a while that my wife was paying more and more attention to him.

"Antoinette,' I said to her, 'you ought not to encourage this young man. It is not right.' She laughed at first and said it was nothing, that I must not be jealous. He was only an interesting young student. He was much younger than she. By and by she began to stay out nights

and I knew something was wrong. I demanded an explanation and she confessed that my suspicions were correct. She told me:

"I love him and cannot give him up."

"Then we talked it over many, many times, and I reasoned with her, but it was no use. Finally she agreed to break off with him on account of the children. For three weeks everything went as in the old days. Then she came to me and said it was impossible. She could not live without her friend."

"For the children's sake I will live with you, but—but—" she told him.

"But what?" he demanded.

"You must not object to my love for him." Dr. Konikow said that he told his wife this was impossible.

"Very well, I shall go away to New York," she said. Then she left him in December, 1907, the day after Christmas.

"He will meet me in New York," she told the plaintiff as they parted in a friendly way.

"LOCKED FROM ROOM."

"In march, 1908, at his request, Mrs. Konikow came to Boston to help her husband fix up some real estate transfer papers, and he had occasion one evening to visit her on Appleton street, where she told him she would stop while in town. The landlord of the place, John Deale, refused to admit him to his wife's room.

"I must and will see her," Dr. Konikow said, and Deale took him finally to her room. There were voices within and she refused to open the door.

"Deale and his wife corroborated this and added that the young man in the room with Mrs. Konikow was the affinity named as correspondent."

"Judge Fessenden said counsel need not read the several letters offered by the plaintiff, that the court would receive them and give due weight in considering the case. This closed the trial. The decision will be handed down in several days. There was no contesting libel in the case.

"HELD AUDIENCES SPELLBOUND."

"Mrs. Konikow has an interesting history. She is a brilliant writer and an orator of great power, and has held great audiences by the spell of her eloquence. In her student days she was a leader of the most revolutionary of all the groups which made Geneva their sanctuary of refuge. She was born in Russia, but spent her childhood in Germany, returning to Russia to attend college. She gained the degree of A. B. in the University of Zurich, Switzerland. She finished her medical studies after coming to America in Tufts College. She is a distinguished linguist, speaking seven languages. One of her hobbies during her years of activity in Boston was her effort to have the school literature improved and cleansed of what she said was 'the soul-destroying spirit of capitalism,' which she said permeated it." (*Boston American*, Jan. 1, 1909.)

And now we shall put the socialist hypocrisy regarding the family on the rack, for the question naturally arises: Was the standing of the mistress in New York less good than that of the wife in Boston? It was not. Rather was her standing promoted, for during the period that husband and children were deserted the doctor was elected to the National Woman's Committee of the Socialist Propaganda (National Convention of the Socialist Party, 5-17-1908).

And thus the "free wife" became a much more conspicuous national figure than before. Here is a concrete case, typical of socialist history, and we leave it, with the question, for truthful men to answer: Was it poverty—economic determinism—or the world, the flesh and the devil that broke up this home?

We have, in our chapter on "Socialist Tactics," made reference to the propagation, by example, at the national headquarters of the philosophy which corresponds with collectivism—with the abolition of private property, which although it is by no means the basis of the monogamic family, it is necessary to the support of the family. We should not conclude *Socialist Leaders* without a brief survey of the case, because it shows on a national scale that the organization is sufficiently "class-conscious" to know its own, and that the management will brook no interference from those comrades not sufficiently indoctrinated with the virus of sex freedom to, at least, hold their peace with regard to their leaders' conduct. No reform within shall be instituted while the *Revolution* is making progress towards the general introduction of what is now particular cases of "individual emancipation." Without question the editor of the *Christian Socialist* shall learn the temper of the movement to be something quite other than what he believed it to be when he called so loudly on it for help to clean the Augean stables.

The Rev. Edward Ellis Carr pleaded for a fair trial for those officials charged with making the National Headquarters "a den of iniquity."

Already the official reports show a Punch and Judy trial. The guilty are officially free from taint or stain; while the reformers are officially dead, being branded as "wilful liars

or lunatics," "bribers," "grafters" and "blackmailers." Mother Jones does not so easily escape as the men; nor does her venerable age protect her; she is "a woman of ill-repute."

With courage high, but little real knowledge of the socialist movement, the *Christian Socialist* entered the arena to do battle for the right:

"Charges of the most serious character have been made before the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party against the National Secretary. If these charges are true, he should be relieved of all official responsibility in the party. If they are false, he should be cleared of them in a fair and unequivocal manner. Nothing but a full, fair trial can properly settle this matter.

"The attempt to belittle those who make these charges is exceedingly unwise. Thos. J. Morgan is one of the most experienced, intelligent and highly honored of Chicago socialists, who, in spite of bitter opposition manifested against him recently, was chosen by referendum as one of the four comrades to represent Chicago socialism in the National Socialist Congress.

"'Mother Jones,' the War Eagle of the American Labor Struggle, who makes serious charges against the National Secretary, cannot be condemned with impunity nor successfully ignored. The deliberate effort to prevent the comrades at large from learning that she is back of 'Morgan's charges' looks rather dark.

"To be sure a socialist branch is not running a holiness class meeting, and no political party can require perfect characters of its rank and file; but certainly the vast majority of the Comrades will desire sober, chaste men and women for their more important officials. Those who preach or practice 'free-love' should be kept far in the rear." (1-26-1911.)

As the malice thickened and came to a head, in an agony of spirit Mr. Carr cried out: "*If the cancer be there cut it out now.*"

We know full well how to sympathize with this soreness of heart, for the movement that was once loved as the one bright star of hope on the horizon of distressed humanity fell, tumbling down to earth in the dung of the barnyard. Mr. Carr may grieve, but there is no prospect that the free-love cancer shall be cut out, though here and there teeny, weeny voices are raised in defense of common honesty and decency. The cancer is in the socialist theory. It should not take an over brilliant mind to find it out upon reading the issues of *The Christian Socialist* dealing with the matter.

The charges brought against the national office were at first dismissed as "too frivolous" to act upon by Messrs. Hillquit, Carey, Berger, Goebel, Hunter, Spargo and Mrs. Lewis, the seven members of the National Executive Committee. But editor Carr's loud, straight talk compelled a re-opening of the matter. So the next step taken was the election of a "white-wash" committee of five, more or less the retainers of the National office. Its findings are characteristic of the socialist *mind*, the fashion for which was set long ago by the "Communist Manifesto." It expropriates the would-be expropriators, for after the National Secretary and the two women officials—one a national lecturer and organizer—are painted lily-white, and those preferring the charges, are made to be black-mailers and grafters, the tables are turned and editor Carr who is assumed to be a "liar" and a "lunatic" is himself made the subject of investigation for the defamation of the party's reputation. We quote from *The Christian Socialist* (4-6-1911):

"The officials have spoken—WILL THE COMRADES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY STAND FOR THEIR DECREE? And will *The New York Call*, *The Chicago Daily Socialist*, *The Appeal to Reason*, *The International Socialist Review*, . . . remain silent in the face of such a cowardly and unspeakable outrage? IF SO, LET THEM NO MORE PRETEND TO STAND FOR JUSTICE, TO HONOR THE TRUEST WORKERS FOR LABOR'S EMANCIPATION, TO CONDEMN THE CRIMINALITY OF CAPITALISM."

Alas that bold, brave words should fall upon deaf ears. What! a crusade against the unspeakable conditions, as reported at national headquarters? Mum is the word from them all. These publications know their doctrine altogether too well to take a hand in the free love row at the headquarters. Stuff! give support to *Capitalist morality* and so repudiate the barn-yard ethics of the new society? It would never do—this Carr and the others* must be sent packing off to the Avery-Goldstein gang.

What would become of those socialist classics—"The Origin of the Family," Bebel's "Woman" and many other doctrinal works which teach free-love "scientifically." Of course it is all right for those with capitalist scruples, with a Reverend before their names, to take part in socialist propaganda; they open up new fields for the scientific cultivator, but they must

not get too troublesome, especially if they have an organ in which they can speak, by attempting to set up a doctrine of their own, for socialism shall be socialism to the end of the chapter—till the devil defeated takes a new tack.

It is entirely safe to say that there was never unearthed so demoralizing a condition of affairs at any political headquarters as that set out in the three issues of *The Christian Socialist* of January 26th, April 6th and April 20th. The editor apologizes for printing the matter, by saying:

"We realize that this issue is a terrible paper. Nothing but the sternest and most profound sense of duty could have impelled us to issue such a number, and we pray that never again will it be needful to do likewise." (April 20, 1911.)

Like as the snake charms the bird, so does socialism charm good men; hence it is that we see one now and again doing yeoman service for a movement, the basic principles and practices of which his soul abhors, utterly mistaking its identity for a system of sound economics.

We present for consideration a letter published in *The Christian Socialist*, dated

"LAKEWOOD, O., Feb. 21, 1911.

"E. E. Carr,

"Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Comrade: Thinking maybe what I am about to write may be of some assistance to you in your effort to clean up the stench that emanates from the National Office of the party is my reason for writing you at this time. I have on many occasions in the past entertained comrades at my home, and among others Lena Morrow Lewis during April, 1907, to be exact, the week of April 7th. In the course of a few days of her stay she let us know that she believed in and was an advocate of free-love, as the term is commonly used. She further told us she had an intimate friend in San Francisco who ran an assignation house, and that she lived with her while in that place; and justified not only her friend in the business but the frequenters of the place. Our opinion of her, gained from her own admissions during the week spent at our home, is that she is a moral degenerate. My opposition to Barnes as National Secretary dates from this time owing to the fact of his intimacy with this woman, something of which she seemed very proud, and which was evidenced by the frequency of the letters received from Barnes while here; extracts from which were read to us.

Yours fraternally,

W. B. Slusser."

In the same issue (4-20-1911), the following letter also appeared:

"Los Angeles, Cal., Feb. 8, 1911.
"Dear Comrade Carr:

* * *
"Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis has lectured on the sex question so much in California that it became generally understood that she was 'scientifically unconventional.' So, when Mrs. Lewis came to Santa Maria to speak, I decided upon getting a more definite statement from her as to her position on the question. Before her meeting, at which I was to act as chairman, I had a conversation with her on one side, in private. As I remember the conversation well, having put down the points carefully the next day, it was about as follows:

"What then, is your position on this sex question—this question on the relation of the sexes now—under capitalist conditions?' I spoke dispassionately.

"In the last analysis it amounts to this,' answered Mrs. Lewis. 'If the man 'makes good' to the woman, if he leaves her satisfied with the relation that has existed between them, then there has been no harm done. It matters not whether that relation was a simple hand-shake, a kiss or the final sex-act.'

"But suppose a poor girl is much in need of hard cash—is she not a prostitute if she submits to the last-named for pay?"

"There was a quiver of uncertainty in Mrs. Lewis' face, but she answered confidently: 'The woman must be satisfied with the relation—that is the sex problem in a single statement.'

"Capitalism has established a lot of ridiculous restrictions upon the personal conduct of individuals,' she went on. 'Socialists are in no way bound to consider these capitalistic institutions. Any one who pries into the private affairs of socialists is impertinent to the last degree.'

"So you are of the opinion that we are in no way bound to live as celibates, if we happened to be unmarried?" was my next question.

"As such restrictions are all a part of the capitalist system, and as they are contemptible interference with our private conduct, I insist that we are in no way bound by them.'

"But do you not feel that the socialists who hold representative positions in the party or those who draw salaries from the party are in a way bound to consider these capitalistic institutions?" I asked.

"Any one who pries into the private life of socialists is to the last degree impertinent,' Mrs. Lewis answered.

"What of one of the prominent comrades who confesses to the most radical views upon such questions, yet he lives a life absolutely conventional, so that if investigated by the most 'impertinent' his private record could in no way harm the cause—is not that a far safer, saner and more loyal position to take?" I asked again.

"That's entirely a matter of personal choice,' Mrs. Lewis said. 'In the last analysis, it is nobody's business this matter of private opinion and conduct. Capitalism must go—and with it all that capitalism has developed,' she insisted.

"Then there was a sentence or two more of conversation between Mrs. Lewis and myself, but we were interrupted as it was time to open her meeting.

"Very sincerely and fraternally yours for socialism,

"(Signed) Bertha Wilkins Starkweather."

Is it to be expected that the party which flaunted the perfect union with his soul-mate who crept into his arms in the home of his wife and his children, of a Herron; the party that defends the morals of a Gorky, an Earle and a Walling, will repudiate free-love conduct at its national headquarters?

Well, if so, a closer study of its principles, its history and its personnel will show this poisonous influence to be what it is—the breath of the Beast itself.

No, the socialist movement is not subject to reformation from within. The Investigating Committee found Mr. Carr's campaign for fair play to be one of slander. For his efforts in behalf of making a filthy, pitchy, sticky pool to be the gushing of sweet waters which shall wash away the ills of economic life Mr. Carr is dubbed a traitor. Indeed, it fared hard with Mr. Carr! By his own comrades his personal motives were "proved" to be the exact opposite of honest intentions. We quote (*The Socialist Party Official Bulletin*, June, 1911):

"Failing to substantiate his charges before that committee he nevertheless continued his campaign of slander. It soon became evident that the motive of Mr. Carr was not the welfare of the party, but its disruption." . . .

"In support hereof we charge Rev. E. E. Carr with publishing under dates of October 1 and October 15, 1910, and January 26, April 6, April 13 and April 20, 1911, in a privately owned paper, called the *Christian Socialist*, scandalous matter (which, upon investigation, has been shown to be unsustained), calculated to defame the character of members and officers of the Socialist Party and to disrupt the party organization.

"We further charge that the publication of this matter in the *Christian Socialist* has been used by enemies of the Socialist Party to discourage prospective members from joining the Socialist Party and to disrupt the party organization."

We have not the slightest doubt as to Mr. Carr's good intentions. It is his knowledge which is at fault, not his integrity. Socialism is to Mr. Carr what his imagination pictures it. But socialism is in fact what the enemies of God mean it to be—the would-be destroyer of Christ. Mr. Carr's socialism is the unripe fruit of the Reformation. Its ripe fruit is, of course, atheism; while its half-ripe fruit is the confusion as to what the Christian religion is. If ever Mr. Carr learns what socialism really is he shall perforce have learned what Christianity is. This would lead him straight home to Rome as the centre of Christian authority.

Before the Committee of Investigation Mr. Carr had expected a square deal, but he was given infidel craft. Mr. Carr had expressed the conviction that the party would prove itself guilty of fostering free love if it convicted him of willfully injuring the party; that justice demanded honest dealing with the charges which "Mother Jones" and others had brought against the National Headquarters; that to shift the charge of free love against the men and women officials to a case against the editor of *The Christian Socialist* was a piece of hypocrisy, good proof that the party was guilty. We quote again from the *Socialist Party Official Bulletin*, June, 1911:

"Mr. Carr argued that if he be expelled it was proof positive that the party therefore stands for free love and immorality. The Socialist Party repudiates this insinuation and refers to socialist literature as well as party platforms and the membership as a whole for its position on this subject."

Of course, the party has proven that it stands for free love. Not at all times openly. No, that were not the means of converting the general public. Socialists know that it is the process of undermining the belief in Christian morality which brings recruits into their camp. Their appeal to "socialist literature" as a proof of their position is a shrewd piece of duplicity. As the reader has seen we have in our chapter on Free Love by quotations from many classics of party literature, shown that the movement advocates free love. The spider would entice the fly into its parlor.

Not that a seemingly open denial of free love is too gross tactics for these makers of a *new morality*. We quote again from the *Bulletin*:

"The Socialist Party never has and never will endorse free love and immorality, as Mr. Carr charged against it and which he may continue to charge."

No, it is not likely that the party will take that action in so many words. That would surely enlighten even Mr. Carr, who although he has had his *proof*, he still clings to the notion that he imbibed his socialism when he was converted to Christ.

If Mr. Carr should learn to reason as soundly as he can express his feelings eloquently the study of socialist literature would show him that socialism is not the newest form of Christianity, but rather its latest organized foe. This is perhaps not too much to hope, for to the sincere mind mental distress proves a wonderful awakener. And socialist reprobation has fallen upon Mr. Carr's devoted head. Instead of securing fair play for his comrades who insisted upon "cleaning up" their national headquarters *The Christian Socialist* has had its guns spiked. It was ordered removed from the list of officially recommended socialist papers.

But although disgrace has fallen upon the editor, the converts which *The Christian Socialist* made are not returned to their non-socialist state of mind. Now, having but a "little knowledge" they are in greater danger. And pity 'tis 'tis true that the very row is a means of making converts. For greater socialist agitation follows in its wake, but no more real information as to its inner meaning is given.

However, the headquarters' incident is now closed for the fifth time; this climax was reached by a popular judgment against Mr. Carr, who has no doubt unwittingly given himself lavishly to the cause of Christian devastation. We quote as before from *The Socialist Party Official Bulletin* (June, 1911):

"To the Members and Locals of the Socialist Party:

"Comrades—The Socialist party of Cook County, Ill., represented by its Delegate Committee at a meeting held June 25, 1911, expelled from its membership the Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, by a vote of 51 for the expulsion and 21 against."

It is, of course, possible for Mr. Carr to be reinstated in socialist favor. We hope he will not. For speaking broadly such return shall be conditioned upon that gentleman becoming

a "scientific socialist." Socialist leaders jealously guard their centre. They see to it, when a case comes up, that those in power "know" that private property gave to civilization the monogamic family. Hence its materialistic, its non-moral origin. Hence also, the understanding of the *full consequences* of the repudiation of the family as the economic and political unit of civil society must mean nothing less than the so-called freedom of the sexes. In other words license not order in sex relation is the socialist demand. This is the password admitting one to the inner circle of comradeship with socialist leaders.

Abolition of the State.

"Evil and error cannot have a right to be set forth or propagated. . . . The State is false to the laws prescribed by nature, when, every bridle being removed, full power is left to evil and error to upset minds and corrupt hearts." Leo XIII.

THAT the State is within the order of nature a permanent design; and that the just authority of its government aristocratic, democratic, paternal or oligarchal, comes from God, has been argued out of existence is the firm conviction of socialist doctrinaires. So by their camp-followers the sacred obligation of men to defend their country is laughed to scorn. To put their contention into their own idiom, the state is a capitalist club to beat the workmen into submission to their industrial masters.

"It is a fight to the finish, and one of the two contending sides must ultimately win out."

As it goes without saying that socialists believe themselves in the fight to *win out*, so it is their prophecy, general and specific, that in all its various forms the state recognizing private property in capital as the rightful possession of individuals, and also that the family is the politico-economic unit of organized society, shall die out.

We desire to make the socialist contention on this point clear by excerpts from their leading writers, national and international. In the German movement no man stands higher than August Bebel, we present two quotations from "Woman," in which the author says that "class antagonisms" bring the state into existence:

"With the abolition of private property and class antagonism, the state, too, will gradually pass out of existence." ("Woman," New York 1910, p. 435).

"The state gradually ceases to exist with the passing away of class rule, as surely as religion ceases to exist when belief in superior beings and occult powers is no longer met with." (P. 365.)

It is too bad that the *naïveté* of this is not seen by its author, for the state which he would have not to be is surely secure if it shall cease only after the belief in a *superior being* is extinct.

It is said by Robert Rives La Monte that probably Gabriel Deville has done more than anyone else to popularize the ideas of Marx in France. We quote from Deville's "The State and Socialism" (New York, 1900):

"My thesis is that a social organization is possible without a state, and that the state appears and subsists only in societies divided into classes. . . .

"The state is the public power of coercion, created and maintained in human societies by their division into classes, and which, having force at its disposal, makes laws and levies taxes. . . .

"For socialists—the existence of the state in a society is bound up with the existence of classes in that society. Hence, this conclusion: before classes came into being there was no state; when classes shall cease to exist there will be no state."

Tears are not yet in order, for this is certainly as wise as Dogberry; so our eyes may be dry over the predicted loss of the state in general and over the particular extinction of our own country. Yet, with the conclusion which Deville affixes to his absurd premise all reasonable men may agree, for it is morally certain that when classes shall cease to exist, there will be no state, nor no people either, of which to form a social organization. So in our ratiocinations we may conclude that the other side of the "present order" is formless and void.

Of course, in the socialist argument, the extinction of the state is conditioned upon the destruction of the unit of the state, namely, the monogamic family. For socialist economists are well aware that the Christian family is grounded upon the natural family. Hence a flank movement against religion is set up by an industrial attack upon the Christian home, which is builded upon the purest form of the human family, as no form more simple is possible than one husband, one wife and their children; and moreover the monogamic family is quite sufficient to maintain and to carry forward the race. The home is to be broken up all in the name of Progress. But Progress under the iron spur of the socialist heel is being

driven in the wrong direction, as women are to be segregated in the public industries.

On the authority of "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," it appears that the desired emancipation of women is primarily dependent upon the "re-introduction" of the whole female sex into the socialized industries. We quote:

"With the transformation of the means of production into collective property the monogamous family ceases to be the economic unit of society," (p. 91).

What then? Simply that the support of the natural family is taken away. On the one hand lucrative property (private capital) is no longer the possession of the Christian family, with the man the responsible head; and on the other, the just wage—the sufficient support for himself, his wife and their children—is denied to the men who sell their labor, for not their families are the economic units of the state; but merely the individual men and women, while all the children "legitimate or illegitimate," (sic) are cared for equally well by the "social organization." And as though it were a new thing in the calendar of the race, all shall be commanded to work. Not, of course, upon God's authority—for the socialist majority will give all the orders. We quote from "Woman:"

"As soon as society has become the owner of all means of production, the duty to work of all able-bodied persons, regardless of sex, becomes a fundamental law of socialized society." (P. 370.)

Possibly with the opportunities of individual initiative cut off and domestic felicities dried up, all the "race-conscious" units—the once blind cells of the evolving organism—may be glad to work, to drive off the desperate desire to erect an industrial design of their own or to drown the desolation of homelessness.

Since in the "socialized society" neither capital and wages nor the state will be found extant, it is but fair that one of authority shall tell how these things, found necessary since the life of man was writ, have been done away with. We quote:

"In order to understand what we mean by the suppression of capital, one must know that capital is for us a character which the means of pro-

duction have taken on under given, definite social conditions, and which they may lose without effecting their existence in the slightest. It is just the same in the case of the wage-system and wages. The latter term cannot, according to us, be applied to any system of remuneration whatsoever, but only to a mode of remuneration presupposing surplus-labor. It is just the same finally in the case of the word state, which means, in our opinion, a system of social organization which implies necessarily the division of society into classes.

" . . . The future social organization, when antagonistic classes no longer exist, when constraint no longer has to be exercised over some for the benefit of others, will not be a state any more than the means of production will be capital after they shall have lost the power of exploiting the labor of others, or than the future remuneration will be what we call wages when it shall no longer presuppose surplus-labor. These two latter changes will be the result of the suppression of the character of capital which is to-day stamped upon the principal means of production.'" ("The State and Socialism," Deville.)

However one may be inclined to quarrel with the doing away with the state, capital and wages, surely there is no kicking against the socialist opinion that within the state there are necessarily economic classes. One may indeed be glad that with all their success in the creation of a classless society there are still to be men and women. Moreover it is inferentially acknowledged that the difference shall be operative upon economic ground. Too bad! By this time, theoretically at least, socialist minds should have been able to evolve the single cell human. Assuredly it could be made a higher type of a prehistoric condition, just as prehistoric collectiveism is to be returned to its natural condition, but at a very high elevation, by the swing that the spiral of evolution has now in hand. Yet, perhaps after all some women may be glad to retain their differences to men even under the great disabilities of economic equality.

However, Bebel being a past master on the subject of *Woman*, shall tell just what her life is to be:

"In the new society woman will be entirely independent, both socially and economically. She will not be subjected to even a trace of domination and exploitation, but will be free and man's equal, and mistress of her lot. Her education will be the same as man's, with the exception of those deviations that are necessitated by the differences of sex and sexual functions. Living under moral conditions of life, she may fully develop and employ her physical and mental faculties. She chooses an occupa-

tion suited to her wishes, inclinations and abilities, and works under the same conditions as man. Engaged as a practical working woman in some field of industrial activity, she may, during a second part of the day, be educator, teacher or nurse; during the third she may practice a science or art, and during a fourth she may perform some administrative function. She studies, works, enjoys pleasures and recreation with other women or with men, as she may choose or as occasions may present themselves.

"In the choice of love she is as free and unhampered as man. She woos or is wooed, and enters into a union prompted by no other considerations but her own feelings. This union is a private agreement, without the interference of a functionary, . . ." (p. 466).

Meantime if the occupations of teacher and nurse are extant, children must be born. So although infants are no more the "property" of their parents, because they belong to *socialized society*, the female with child shall be big with economic hindrance, and with sorrow at the loss of a male protector and a shelter. Though this may be too sentimental, for Paul Lafargue ("International Socialist Review," Vol. 5, p. 558), says:

" . . . Civilized humanity, oppressed by the mechanical mode of production, turns its face towards a society, based on common property, in which woman, delivered from the economic, legal and moral chains which bind her, may develop freely her physical and intellectual faculties, as in the time of the communism of the savages."

It should be observed that each assault upon society relates in one way or another to the economic unit of the state. This is necessarily so as their central aim—the socialization of private capital—destroys the material support of the family. And just as the fire that burns up the house is, while it burns, attractive, so is the lust that would burn up the home made to appear something desirable in itself. We quote from "Socialism; Its Growth and Outcome," (Chicago, 1909):

"As to the particulars of life under the socialistic order, we may, to begin with, say concerning marriage and the family that it would be effected by the great change, firstly in economics, and secondly in ethics. The present marriage system is based on the general supposition of economic dependence of the woman on the man, and the consequent necessity for his making provisions for her, which she can legally enforce. This basis would disappear with the advent of social economic freedom,

and no binding contract would be necessary between the parties as regards livelihood; while property in children would cease to exist. . . ."
(P. 225.)

William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax are not less sure that a change would be wrought in the foundation of the state than is Robert Rives La Monte that the religious significance of the family would disappear. He says:

"From the point of view of this socialist materialism, the monogamous family, the present economic unit of society, ceases to be a divine institution, and becomes the historical product of certain definite economic conditions. It is the form of the family peculiar to a society based on private property in the means of production, and the production of commodities for sale. It is not crystallized and permanent, but, like all other institutions, fluid and subject to change." ("Socialism: Positive and Negative," p. 98, Chicago 1907.)

With the economic unit of the state gone to the dogs, and the state gone after the dogs, "The Industrial Republic," (p. 233) according to Upton Sinclair, saves all young girls from a life of shame by supplying them with the equality of opportunity for getting their living, and for gaining *intelligence* that is criminal. We quote:

"What will be the effect of socialism upon prostitution? Any young girl can go to the public factories and stores, to the coöperative boarding houses and hotels, the schools and nursery play grounds, and secure employment for the asking, and support herself by a couple of hours' work a day in decent and attractive surroundings. She will, moreover, be able to marry the man who loves her, because the problem of a living will no longer enter into the question of marriage. She will be able to restrict her family to as many as she and her husband care to support, because she will be as intelligent and sensible as the women of our present upper classes."

Surely a statesman, looking to the good of his country and to the Commandments of the Lord God for his standards, would write degeneracy and foolishness where Sinclair has written "intelligent and sensible." For if, indeed, the implication be true of the women of our upper classes, then that God will preserve the lower classes from this wickedness and folly should be our constant prayer, that our beloved country shall not sink into the mire of sex depravity.

Considering the fact that the "benefits" to women upon the destruction of the economic unit (the family) of the civil-

ized countries, is the one phase of the discussion that is never absent, we deem it important to set forth what socialist women themselves anticipate regarding that freedom which their own efforts united to those of their gentlemen comrades are working out for the women of the future. These *benefits* evidently would limit the freedom of motherhood, as the makers of the public opinion which is supposed to be leading up to the Revolution have decided that God's command to increase and multiply is not to be tolerated. Hence upon the future cuckoo-parents there is to be put some restraint, for nursing bottles *en masse* run up into a big bill, especially where the working hours are only three or four per day. As H. G. Wells put it, the coming régime will require: ". . . A new sexual order of which the over-parentage of the state is the salient factor."

In *The Masses* (July, 1911), something is told about the "wonderful work" of Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis. From the Woman Suffrage movement where she had worked ten years, Mrs. Lewis came to the Socialist Party in 1902. The most distinctive honors in the gift of the party are conferred upon Mrs. Lewis, and the greatest responsibilities are placed upon her. As one of the seven members of the National Executive Committee, Mrs. Lewis shapes the party propaganda of this country, and as National Lecturer, she carries the message of the class struggle from the lumber camps in the North to the alkaline roads of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. Besides, Mrs. Lewis is one of the five members of the National Woman's Committee on Socialist Propaganda. Hence it is certain that no more creditable witness could be called upon to testify as to the disappearance of the family as the economic unit with the advent of the *new society*. We quote from the Woman's Day Edition of *The Call* (2-27-1910):

"The man who calls himself a socialist, and then says that under socialism men will provide for women is wide of the mark . . . we have no reason to anticipate a time when men will do all the work and support women. Men who hold such an idea must be taught differently."

So thoroughly has the individual usurped the place of the family as the economic unit, in the mind of this national official,

that evidently the home, in which good mothers have plenty to do, is not within this survey, not even sympathetically. Indeed, this socialist executive deluded into the belief that her "wonderful work" is meritorious work explains to "The Masses" that home is quite out of her reckoning. We quote:

"The price I personally have paid has been to relinquish any and all ideas of a home. Not that it matters. I am used to it now. But I have rather a record, don't you think? Seventeen years touring as a lecturer, and in all that time I have never slept for fourteen consecutive nights in the same place. I have rested for ten or twelve days and nights. But that is the longest. I have not as yet touched the two weeks' mark.

"Out in California I have a very dear woman friend who lived there with her family. In her home, when I visit her, I feel as nearly as though I were in my own home, as I do anywhere. But to be truthful I have quite forgotten the sensation of having personal belongings about me other than my clothing."

Poor woman! If only before it be too late, she would repent as Wolsey: Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal I serv'd this vile cause, He would not in mine age have left me naked to remorse, homeless, with a blight upon my native land.

Mrs. Lewis has improved the socialist speech, but not its doctrine. *Romantic love* is certainly a great refinement upon "sex fondness," but lawlessness in happy or in repugnant phrase, is no secure foundation for the state. Romantic love is not the rock of chastity, it is a heap of vice, with marriage stripped of its sacrament. We quote from *The Masses*:

"In the perfect marriage, man and woman will contribute equally to the home, spiritually, mentally and economically. The equal home is the dream of the future, as is the perfect romantic love."

Mrs. May Wood Simons, well known throughout the country as a socialist lecturer and writer, especially of blasphemous lessons for socialist Sunday-schools, which are alleged to be "scientific," is no less certain that the family as the economic unit shall be undone, upon the abolition of "capitalist society."

"It is to socialism alone that the home life must look for its rescue and purification.

"Since she would perform services for society either in bearing or rearing citizens or working in the improved and beautiful shop or factory,

or in producing works of art, she would no longer be an economic dependent upon man.

"Woman's economic equality, however, is not imaginable without political freedom. Socialism will mean the complete political equality of woman." (*Woman and the Social Problem.*)

Mrs. Simons is quite right, it is not *imaginable* that the individual shall take the place of the family as the unit of organized society, save the family be razed to its very foundation. As a moral body the family must be first deprived of private property which is its material support. The woman must be deprived of the protection and support of her husband by her "economic equality." The political responsibility of the man as the representative of his family must be denied by the "political equality" of the wife; all this that the collapse of the state may be complete. Following the example of Cain, having killed the family, socialism must go out from the face of the Lord and build a fugitive society over against Eden.

Writing under the caption "The Old Motherhood and the New," (*The Call*, 1-15-1911), Anita C. Block, editor of the *Woman's Sphere*, is keen for the disruption of the state in the interest of motherhood:

"To-day, marrying for a home is just as true of the working woman as it is of the upper class woman. The average working girl considers the wage earning period of her life as purely transitory—as a necessary evil to be terminated as speedily as possible by marriage. So, in order to escape the torture of wage slavery she flies into a torture that is worse—into the arms of an unloved husband, and, as the sex slave of the master of her bread, becomes the unwilling mother of unwanted children. . . .

"When all the things that people need and want in the world are produced under the control of ALL the people, for the benefit of ALL the people, instead of by a few for the profit of a few; and when every one, woman and man, receives the JUST return for the share of labor she or he has contributed to the general productivity, no human being will need to be 'supported' by any other human being. All human beings, women as well as men, will support themselves adequately by their SOCIALLY USEFUL work.

"Thus woman, by doing such part of the socially necessary work for which she is physically fitted, will be able adequately to support herself. In other words, she will be economically independent."

Barring the flagrant instances of mercenary marriage, Mrs. Block's assumption that women in general fly to the arms of

an unloved husband, is entirely gratuitous. Upon considering the numbers of unmarried young men and women, it seems truer to the mark to say that mercenary motives, motives of personal ease, keep women out of the married state.

At all events, here is unwritten testimony that the heart of the country is sound. If not for founding a family, if not for making a home within the nation, what should be the object of honorable marriage? As material support is a concomitant of wifehood, it is not only justifiable but absolutely essential to the right adjustment of the burdens of civil society in carrying forward the race, which is a divine command. This self-sacrifice, ungrudgingly given, is returned in benefits an hundred fold, in the felicities of home life, and in one's love for and pride in one's country. We make no doubt that every manly man and every womanly woman shall exclaim, God forbid that the time shall come when the home is not the product of the wife's industry; and when the house is not the product of the husband's industry. The woman working within the domestic sphere, the man working within the sphere of political economy—out upon the field of commerce. When this is not the rule then shall the nation perish.

But the nation shall perish if socialist women may have their way. In writing of the "Mother's Future" (*International Socialist Review*, June, 1910), Georgia Kotsch views that future outrageous in which independent women are pictured as being dependent for support upon one man. We quote:

"The vocation of wife and mother would render an independent woman dependent upon one man and this is innocently supposed to be an inducement to her to marry. Could anyone but a man have written that."

Truly it is not freedom from poverty, not the freedom of plenty, that is wanted, but the power to smash the moral constitution of civil society. That future in which women should find themselves as honest wives are now, is altogether too tame for the excited imagination of women who expatiate upon an ideal society, based upon the plunder of private property and the impossible equality between men and women.

In the event of the overthrow of our Republic, Luella R. Krehbiel (*The Call*, 1-30-1910), tells how socialism will "liberate women:"

"... Every woman must go out and work the time of her shift in whatever line of production she chooses or is best fitted for, and when her work is done she will receive her certificate of labor which will prove to the world that she has done her part of its work and has a right to all that its civilization has to offer."

Without doubt "the world" would be interested in so amazing a spectacle as the universal subversion of the natural constitution of human society. But it is more than doubtful if at that time civilization were extant to offer anything; and it is utterly impossible to believe that other than very unnatural, ungodly, women would be delighted with the life.

However, the worst is not yet, for more active than the brains of even very brilliant women with normal imagination is the ordinary state of the socialist woman's mind. For it should be understood that only exceptional women enter the propaganda. The women belonging to the "comrade's" families who make up the voting strength of the party are not enlisted in the work. On the contrary many of them bitterly deplore the activity of their men folk in the movement. Some very pitiful tales on this score we could tell.

Not alone is the moral constitution of things to be turned up side down and wrong side out; the very nature of the race is made to suit the theory of surplus-value and a self-created world. The socialist majority, presupposing the death of the state, will take their census by regulating the *right* to parenthood. We quote from the editor of "Woman's Sphere" (*The Call*, 4-30-1911):

"When, however, we consider the relation of reproduction to society, we find that this right of the individual in the matter of parenthood is absolute only so far as the REJECTION of parenthood is concerned, that the ASSUMPTION of parenthood is a right which society alone should be permitted to grant and which should not be considered as the right of the individual at all. In other words, every man and woman has the right to refuse to become a parent, because, through such a decision, no SOCIAL act is involved. The bringing of more human beings into society, however, is distinctly a social act, and must, therefore, be regulated and controlled by society, like every other social act."

Shades of Solomon! the wisdom of Mrs. Block would have put his glory to the blush. Yet even this is not enough! for the women in the socialist sanctum will take more space to show God just how to create a race fit for their "free society." No, verily, the Almighty shall have no part in it, since society's *right is absolute*. We quote:

"Reproduction, therefore, considered in the light of the socialist ideal, must be a process consciously making for the evolution of the individual possessing the largest amount of social usefulness. Its social significance cannot be overestimated, and, therefore, society's control over it must be unquestioned and absolute."

Is not the impudence of it sublime? In pride does it not give points to Lucifer himself?

Lawless as he is, George Bernard Shaw's words are pale and his ideas tame when side by side with the female socialists' scheme. Though their point of attack is one and the same, namely, the family as the unit of the state:

"With the welding of society into one class, the economic independence of women and the supplanting of the head of the household by the individual as the economic unit of the state, will materially alter the status of children and the utility of the institution of the family."

The *welding of society into one class* would without question form a *new society*, the like of which was never known upon land nor sea. As for the utilitarian consequences, to the sober mind they should seem impossible to conceive, for the simple reason that the race has thus far furnished no phenomenon for its induction, while its deduction is out of question, being contrary to all known principles.

Yet the creation of a *classless society* is precisely the self-appointed mission of the socialist movement. And we submit first as foremost authority Marx and Engels, quoting from "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State:"

"The state . . . is simply a product of society at a certain stage of evolution. It is the confession that this society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in irreconcilable contradictions which it is powerless to banish. In order that these contradictions, these classes with conflicting economic interests, may not annihilate themselves and society in a useless struggle, a power becomes necessary that stands apparently above society and has the function of keeping down the con-

flicts and maintaining 'order.' And this power, the outgrowth of society, but assuming supremacy over it and becoming more and more divorced from it, is the state" (p. 206.)

"The state is the result of the desire to keep down class conflicts. But having arisen amid these conflicts, it is as a rule the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses. The antique state was, therefore, the state of the slave owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal state was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labor" (pp. 208-9.)

As well as Ferrer, Marx knew that a revolution in ideas is the preliminary to the destruction of the state, Christian or whatnot. A state in control of other people is what socialists don't want. What they do want is the power with which to rule. Obviously the "proletarians" are in the majority, using bullets or ballots in the socialist cause they must win if only their commanders are equal to the occasion in the *last* "class struggle."

Socialism is alleged to be the cause of the working-class, yet the movement was conceived, organized and has been officered ever since by other than workmen. What then is the core of those *ideas* which centralizes practical power in the hands of socialist leaders? Simply the revolt against the authority of the church, the state and the family. The man who shifts his allegiance from God, home or country to the cause which merely seeks the *administration of things* is duped. For the cat is wholly out of the bag that the usurpation of rights and the dictatorship over personal acts, secular and sacred, is intended.

The revolution in ideas proceeds, in "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," (pp. 211-212):

"The state did not exist from all eternity. There have been societies without it, that had no idea of any state or public power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was of necessity accompanied by a division of society into classes, the state became the inevitable result of this division. We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter on production. Hence these classes must fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state must ir-

revocably fall with them. The society that is to reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will transfer the machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze ax."

To the proletarian, acquainted neither with the facts of history nor with, to them, the more important fact that socialist minds create history from their desire to maintain their theory, this complete revolution in ideas gives them the notion that socialists alone have the key to future events. Their cool assumption of what is not so, comes like a breeze of hope that the hard conditions of labor may be thrown off for leisure and plenty. For the get-rich-quick fever in the veins of irreligious men is not confined to the upper classes. So their hard life becomes harder and socialism advances in favor—and spreads.

Like Deville, all others follow Marx and Engels in assuming that the monogamic family will become extinct. It must be destroyed. For is it not the unit of the state, and have not the followers of socialism with thundering tones cried out that the state is on its last legs? We quote from Bebel's "Woman" (p. 365):

"The transformation of all means of production into common property forms the new basis of society. The conditions of life and work for both sexes in industry, agriculture, traffic, education, marriage, science, art and social intercourse become radically different. Human life is given a new purpose. Gradually the organization of the state also loses ground; *the state disappears*; it, so to say, abolishes itself."

That the state is doomed, is also the conviction of George Plechanoff, ("Anarchism and Socialism," Chicago, 1908):

"Modern scientific socialism . . . while explaining the historic origin of the state, shows in this very origin, the conditions of the future disappearance of the state."

There is no socialist of national or international standing who holds other than the regulation opinion of the *class-conscious*, but not every man puts his doctrine so succinctly as Robert Rives La Monte. Having quoted the master-minds, he concludes:

"It is thus seen that, according to the teaching of historical materialism, the state is destined, when it becomes the state of the working-class, to remove its own foundation—economic inequality—and thus to commit suicide." ("Socialism: Positive and Negative," p. 113.)

This work of La Monte's is especially recommended by the Socialist Party. *The Call* considers it "one of the best little books you can read to get an understanding of the fundamental principles of socialism."

In a long series of Outline Lessons, *The Wage Slave* (3-19-1909), puts the intention of the party into very plain words:

"Political action is valuable for a two-fold reason. First, it serves as a means of agitation; a means and an opportunity for getting Revolutionary Truth before the people. Second, it is important for destructive purposes to get control of the powers of political government to neutralize them as far as possible and to see to it that they obstruct as little as possible the formation of the Co-operative Commonwealth which must find its framework in a totally different source than a conversion of present day political institutions."

Again in lesson XVIII (4-2-1909), those "half-baked comrades" who imagine that the municipal ownership of social services is socialism, are warned that it is nothing of the sort. Nor is it any more the Federal ownership of railroads, or the control over interstate commerce. Rather socialism proposes to-day just what its founders in '48 proposed, the complete razing of the "present order" and a new society built upon its grave. Hence students are taught that:

"The function of the political movement is purely destructive. The proper field of effort for socialist political action is not to re-inforce the present political state by extending its functions but to capture and destroy it."

Herr Bebel amplifies this statement somewhat in "Woman" (p. 435):

"Together with the state will vanish its representatives: ministers, parliaments, standing armies, police, courts, lawyers and district attorneys, prison officials, collectors of taxes and duty, in short, the entire political apparatus."

It is, however, quite the privilege of Frederick Engels, who possessed the scientific fore-knowledge equal to the little

task, to tell the whole wide world just how the state shall be snuffed out, and how the classless society springs, full-armed, into the ownership of other men's property, not to mention other of its *absolute rights*:

"THE PROLETARIAT SEIZES THE MACHINERY OF THE STATE AND CONVERTS THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION FIRST INTO STATE PROPERTY. But by so doing, it extinguishes itself as proletariat; by so doing it extinguishes all class distinctions and class contrasts; and along with them the State as much. The society that existed until then, and that moved in class contrasts, needed the state, i. e., an organization of whatever class happened at the time to be the exploiting one, for the purpose of preserving the external conditions under which it carried on production; in other words, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited class down in that condition of subjection—slavery, bondage or vassalage, or wage-labor, which the corresponding mode of production predicated. The State was the official representative of the whole society; it was the constitution of the latter into a visible body; but it was so only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself, at its time, represented the whole society; in antiquity, the State of slave-holding citizens; in the middle ages, the State of the feudal nobility: in our own days, the State of the capitalist class. By at last becoming actually the representative of the whole social body, it renders itself superfluous. Soon as no longer there is any social class to be kept down; soon as, together with class rule and the individual struggle for life, founded in the previous anarchy of production, the conflicts and excesses that issued therefrom have been removed, there is nothing more to be repressed, and rendering necessary a special power of repression—the State. The first act, wherein the State appears as the real representative of the whole body social—the seizure of the means of production in the name of society—is also its last independent act as State. The interference of the State in social relations becomes superfluous in one domain after another, and falls of itself into desuetude. The place of a government over persons is taken by the administration of things and the conduct of the processes of production. The State is not 'abolished'—IT DIES OUT. This is all there is in the phrase about a 'FREE STATE,' both with regard to the just uses to which it is put by agitators, and its scientific insufficiency; this also is all there is in the demand made by so-called anarchists that the State be abolished out of hand." ("Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.")

Upon knowing so much as just how the state *per se* should die out, it surely was not over bold of Engels to predict the death of the English nation.

The Revolution was to have brought it about during the middle of the last century—and, don't you know? the English

are still in the flesh, hale and hearty. In writing the life of his comrade, Karl Kautsky disposes of Engels' prophetic vision in a jiffy. We quote from "Frederick Engels: His Life, His Work and His Writings" (p. 7):

"Events which no one could have foreseen were at fault that the prophecy was not fulfilled; above all the June fight of 1848 in Paris and the discovery of the gold fields of California in the same year, which drew across the sea the discontented elements of England and weakened for a time the strength of the labor movement."

The cock-sure *science of life* has been interfered with by Blind-Force on many other occasions, for reasons given and for reasons absent. Yet the unforeseen events which no one could have reckoned with in no wise dampens the ardor of these materialist devotees. We give a few examples in point. In 1847 Marx and Engels declared that Germany was on the eve of a *bourgeois revolution*, and that a second *proletarian revolution* would quickly follow. Sixty-four years have passed and both revolutions are overdue.

Gravely, in international convention assembled, these makers of a new order of human society to take the place of that which God ordained, set forth in the "Communist Manifesto" (1847) that:

"The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out and the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution."

Engels was especially fond of prophecy. In an introduction to Marx's brochure on the trial of the Cologne Communists (1885), he declared that the next European uprising

"was almost due, since the period of European revolutions during the present century was between 15 and 18 years—1815, 1830, 1848-52, 1870."

Just what business an earthquake had to interfere with the *science of life* as it was about to pass into dramatic action, is not wholly accounted for. *A la Wilshire*, it is certain that the earthquake in California utterly routed the time set for

the tragic death of these United States. So one year more was added to the date of 1906—and still Columbia floats her stars and stripes.

"The earthquake in California by the destruction of some hundreds of millions of dollars of property will help enormously toward continuing 'prosperity' in this country. What the present competitive system needs above all things else is a 'market.' The earthquake will force California to be the largest and best buyer in the world for the next two years. The rebuilding of her fallen cities will stimulate business not only throughout the United States but indeed throughout the world. California will not only have the hundreds of millions of insurance money to spend, but she will borrow millions in addition. There will be no shortage of money. I have been saying that unless we had a great war that a profound period of depression was sure to appear within two years in this country as the result of an inevitable over-production. I now retract my prophecy. I did not count on an earthquake. I now wish to extend the time; the California earthquake should put off the crisis at least one year longer." (*Wilshire's Magazine*, May 1906.)

Socialists do not consult an astrologer in making prophecies. Oh, no, they rely entirely upon their own intensity of thought. We very well remember consulting gravely as to the date of the revolution at the occasion of celebrating the second anniversary of the original Nationalist Club of Boston. It was decided, before his address at Tremont Temple, to "comb down," a little, Daniel De Leon's ardor, for it was feared that six years ahead was somewhat too early to place the date. That was in 1889.

Upton Sinclair is a little more cautious, or rather a little less wild. In his "Industrial Republic" (1907), Mr. Sinclair, presumably, is gravely engaged in surveying the signs of the time. Happily we are given until 1913 to feel the full force of his wisdom, for with swift prescience this brilliant propagandist sees that date as the socialist "swarming time."

"So it is that I write in all seriousness that the revolution will take place in America within one year after the Presidential election of 1912; in saying this, I claim to speak, not as a dreamer or a child, but as a ntist and a prophet."

Prophecies are useful in creating the revolution *mental*, for working over the expectation of social justice here and of heaven hereafter into the anticipation of lotus-eating on earth.

Prophecies are more useful for "proving" the "Bible of the working-class" to be correct. For how could a prediction of future events come to pass, if a "scientific" diagnosis of historic conditions were lacking. It could not, of course. If Marx's ponderous tome does not take the place of God's word, why then, all things are not in a constant change, for no jot or tittle of the law changes. Neither are the everyday facts of up and down, of right and left in danger. Moreover, the positive identity of each individual soul is safe. As, however, many Johns there may be in John's conceit of himself, or to John's friends, John the baby, the youth, the man, is one and the same John, although he may have had more than a dozen new skins.

Prophecies are most useful, however, for stimulating propaganda. If socialism is to be here in our day, let it come *now*! This is the work "The Iron Heel" takes in hand. Jack London shows that because some one had blundered, the Revolution slated for 1912 did not come off. Consequently there followed three hundred years of terrific, bloody conflict before the socialists were able to date their love letters in the year 1, B. H. of M. In his review of this novel (*The Worker*, 3-14-1918), Jos. Wanhope points out the service Jack London has done the cause by showing how the defeat and the disaster on that occasion was planned by the oligarchy, the mistakes of the socialists could have been avoided. We quote:

"Probably there are few socialists who believe that the social revolution can be consummated through the ballot alone. In some countries we have little hesitation in declaring it impossible. Still the socialist agitator cannot be fairly charged with concealment of his views, for he lets it be plainly understood that the ballot can accomplish the desired change, if—and there is no need to conceal the proviso—the capitalists will abide by the rules of the game—the will of the majority, legally and peaceably expressed at the ballot box.

"In calling our attention to these contingencies Jack London has performed a valuable service for the socialist movement as well as producing the most powerful and absorbing piece of socialist literature that has appeared in many years.

"We strongly advise every socialist to procure this striking volume and give it a careful perusal. As for non-socialists, the book itself will take care of them. It will force itself upon them—a portent that no thinking man or woman can avoid or fail to see."

It should come as a warning, to those of our citizens who are not political atheists, to learn something of the intentions, the practical workings, of the Socialist Party. Its attacks are not successive. Not first on religion, second on the state, third on the family and then on private property; no, socialist propagandists are so numerous and so indefatigable that each grand division of our society and all classes are made the simultaneous brunt of their battle

The working class is for obvious reasons, besides the fact of superior numbers, their especial prey. To quote from Jack London:

"The (socialist) leaders intend to direct the labor revolt to the capture of the political machinery of society. . . . With the control of the police, the army, the navy, and the courts, they will confiscate, with or without remuneration, all the possessions of the capitalist class which are used in the production and distribution of the luxuries and necessities of life." (*The Independent*, Oct. 1903.)

Surely this is eminently practical! It is, too, tame when seen side by side with the *Revolution* shod with its "iron-sandals," roaring louder as it approaches the end of the nineteenth century. It bespeaks itself with a finer frenzy rolling in Herr Bebel's prophecy. We quote:

"The revolt of the new world against the old has broken out. The stage is crowded with actors, the struggle will be carried on with an amount of intellect such as the world has seen in no struggle before and will see in none after. For it will be the last social struggle. The 19th century will hardly end before the contest is decided." ("Woman; in the Past, Present and Future.")

Far be it from us to make light of the determination of socialists to organize a revolt against civil society. Nor would we despise the powers which are gathering to perform the act; they are in truth terrific. Yet we may indulge the smile at the miscalculation of one having, we presume, an intellect which would have put Aristotle's reasoning to rout. There may have been an earthquake just before the time of the prophecy was up.

Since Victor L. Berger is propagating socialism upon the floor of Congress, and since *The Appeal to Reason* (7-1-1911)

with a circulation of more than half a million, counsels its readers to write for Congressman Berger's first speech, his opinion is important:

"It is the first time socialists have had an opportunity to send out ammunition at the expense of the government, and the most should be made of it."

We present the instruction which the socialist Congressman gave to his followers in his own organ (*Social Democratic Herald*, Milwaukee, 7-31-1909):

"No one will claim that I am given to the reciting of 'revolutionary' phrases. On the contrary, I am known to be a 'constructive' socialist.

"However, in view of the plutocratic law making of the present day, it is easy to predict that the safety and hope of this country will finally lie in one direction only—that of a violent and bloody revolution.

"Therefore, I say, each of the 500,000 socialist voters and of the two million workingmen who instinctively incline our way, should, besides doing much reading and still more thinking, also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home and be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullets if necessary."

Something more than a revolution in ideas is taking place, as, practically, our own country is being made to furnish the means, the platform and the press, by which its life is to be stamped out in blood.

It is not that the real meaning of socialism has changed. Rather, what it means is being progressively impressed upon the minds of its friends and its foes—upon those who assault and those who defend their country. So long as its leaders had not much of any power it was safely neglected; but, we submit, the time is overdue for giving it serious attention. The editor of *The International Socialist Review*, Charles H. Kerr, makes it clear that the leopard has not changed its spots while it was getting its growth.

"The word socialism is a growing word. Most dictionary definitions tell only what the word used to mean. The latest dictionary definitions tell what socialism looks like from the outside. But the word has come to stand for a very definite thing—that is to say, for a movement which started with the Communist Manifesto of 1848 and which now enrolls many millions of workers in all civilized lands. These workers know

better than the dictionary-makers what socialism means. These words of Liebknecht, a German socialist, who until his death knew perhaps better than any other man the spirit of modern socialism, explain briefly and clearly.

"WHAT SOCIALISM IS NOT.

"Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it, is not socialism. Condemnation of wealth and respect for poverty, such as we find in Christianity and other religions, is not socialism. The communism of early times, as it was before the existence of private property, and as it has at all times and among all people been the elusive dream of some enthusiasts, is not socialism.

"In all these appearances is lacking the real foundation of capitalist society with its class antagonisms. Modern socialism is the child of capitalist society and its class antagonisms. Without these it could not be. Socialism and ethics are two separate things. This fact must be kept in mind." (*The Revolt*, San Francisco, 5-6-1911.)

Precisely! Socialism is what it was at its inception in '48. To-day there is more of the same thing, namely, revolutionary activity in every department of Christian civilization. The intention is plainly set forth in the words and deeds of its advocates. The pages of its program are wide open.

1st. The proletariat gets control of the state. That is, the socialist parties are voted into political power by the working class.

2d. They take and hold all the means of production as the property of the collectivity. That is, the wholesale confiscation of private capital will take place; or, as Marx puts it, the expropriators are expropriated.

3rd. The socialist majority, of the classless society, elect the leaders, a small minority, who become the representatives of the whole social body. That is how class lines are to be eliminated, and to stay broken down.

4th. The interference of the state in social relations shall become superfluous in one domain after another. That is, marriage, penal and civil law, falls of itself into desuetude.

5th. The state renders itself useless, at last, and dies the death.

6th. Henceforth, if not forever, a government over persons is no more. There is merely an administration over

things. Children, no longer belonging to their parents, are included in these "things," for they shall then be a part of the sex industry.

Given this state of things, there should be no quarrel with Engels' view that what socialism wants is wholly sufficient to cover the demand of the anarchists for a "Free State." We quote from another author:

"Instead of government there will then be simply a business administration. . . .

"There will be, instead of persons to be constrained, only things to be administered." ("The State and Socialism," by Gabriel Deville.)

As anarchists are very much against the government, they are pleased, we presume, to know that political machinery shall come to an end. If not in the nineteenth century, which is indeed passed, some time,—Well, when one, only one, of the multitude of socialist prophecies come true. We have according to their erratic vision set down the end of many of the everyday necessities of government, which anarchists do not like.

To be sure, those who have prided themselves that two things never fail, must forego the confidence in taxes. Death is still certain, but taxes? There will be none to collect. Has not Herr Bebel said so? Now, if any living man knows what socialism is it is he—the close associate of the men who made it, namely, Marx and Engels. Besides there are other things to go by the board. And it shall all be done so easily, if only those who do not believe in the annihilation of government will behave just like little lambs.

Jean Jaures, the French leader of socialism, says, "When everybody is an office-holder, there will be no more office-holders."

This is easier than rolling off a log! Who would have thought it was so simple.

When everybody owns the capital, there will be no more capital.

When everybody is in power, nobody will be in power.

When everybody is a pauper, there will be no more paupers.

When every woman is a prostitute, there will be no more prostitutes.

When every child is fatherless, there will be no more fathers.

When every man is without a country there will be no more states. All to be brought about by the proletariat *performing the last act*. The whole *political apparatus* takes its leave, according to Karl Marx, because:

"The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the old order of civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will no longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonism in civil society." ("The Poverty of Philosophy," London 1900.)

Given his false premise, Marx is logical. Surely with no classes there shall be no political power; no political apparatus; no civil society; no race. So beginning upon nothing but intellectual degeneracy, and sentimental depravity everything will be changed into "free land," "free means of production," a "free family," a "free society," operated by the minority, elected by the socialist majority. To make assurance doubly sure that there shall be a dead level, flat, stale and cold, we quote from the "Communist Manifesto:"

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another."

Never departing from the "Manifesto's" lead, Bebel amplifies the meaning of Marx and Engels. We quote:

"The hundreds of thousands of former representatives of the state will enter various professions, and by their intelligence and strength will help to increase the wealth and comfort of society. Neither political nor common crimes will be known in the future. Thieves will have disappeared, because private property will have disappeared, and in the new society every one will be able to satisfy his wants easily and conveniently by work. Nor will there be tramps and vagabonds, for they are the product of a society founded on private property, and, with the abolition of this institution, they will cease to exist. Murder? Why? No one can enrich himself at the expense of others, and even the murder for hatred or revenge is directly or indirectly connected with the social system. Perjury, false testimony, fraud, theft of inheritance, fraudulent failures? There will be no private property against which these crimes could be committed. Arson? Who should find pleasure or satisfaction

in committing arson when society has removed all cause for hatred? Counterfeiting? Money will be but a chimera, it would be 'loves labor lost!' Blasphemy? Nonsense! It will be left to good and almighty God himself to punish whoever has offended him, provided that the existence of God is still a matter of controversy." ("Woman," p. 436.)

Words stand for things. Here the things that the words stand for are abnormal, and these unwholesome things are in a confusion born of blasphemy. It is true that the belief in God may be made a matter of controversy, but what power has controversy over the existence of God? Controversy over a peanut neither brings that useful thing into existence, nor puts it out of existence.

Reason proves God's existence by the arguments which prove the necessity for the existence of the author of the original designs of the Cosmos: reason asserts the existence of God from the fact that the Christian Church stands all the tests brought against it historically, rationally and practically. Herr Bebel is now an old man, but his blasphemy may be arrested at the last moment, as that of the thief on the cross.

Bax also sees things abnormal, both on this side of socialism and on the other. We quote from "The Curse of Law:"

"That ultimately civil law must disappear with the last vestiges of modern civilization, no socialist will refuse to admit. But I still maintain, as before, that one of the first measures of a definitely socialist administration should be the closing of all courts for the hearing of purely civil causes. Such a measure, which would mean the definite break on the juridical side with the old order, is of too revolutionary a nature to proceed from any other than a revolutionary body, but given such a body, a modern 'Convention' or 'Paris Commune' it could not consistently be refused." ("Outlooks from the New Standpoint," pages 103-104.)

This socialist philosopher is serious. Just in line with the founders of the movement, his process of making mankind good is to let all criminals loose. No doubt a convention held by comrades who had already *abolished the soul* could be relied upon to close up the courts. What should civil law be doing without a moral code? It is simple enough that without a moral code, and a civil court, there could be no criminals. The class-conscious are quite practiced in this state of enlightenment. For just so long ago as socialists in convention assembled, decided

upon the confiscation of private property, and the establishment of a "free family," just so long ago was it that they threw the Ten Commandments after the lost soul.

In his "Universal History from a Socialist Standpoint," seemingly without any compunction of soul or perturbation of conscience, Ernest Belfort Bax, still the socialist philosopher *par excellence*, blots out civilization with a capital C. We quote:

"Mankind having passed through the fire of the State-world, of Civilization, of history, must come out the stronger and the more perfect. Latterday society redeemed from Civilization will be a higher and a more enduring society than that early society which knew no Civilization. It is towards this world, where Civilization shall have ceased to be, that the socialist of to-day casts his eyes." ("Religion of Socialism.")

Is it not just too bad for anything that the "Ode to Chaos" is just a little late in appearing? We presume the poets have been overworked upon the "Ode to the Prostitute," of which we have made a collection. Otherwise this to the limit in prose could be outclassed in poetry.

Ere long it shall be exceedingly difficult to express the thoughts which language has conveyed for four thousand years from man to man. Because so many things, together with their names, shall have gone out of existence with civilization. So we hasten to make known why under the socialist *régime* civilization shall be a thing of the past. Because he has set it down so plainly we cheerfully give to Mr. J. Sketchley the privilege of restating the socialist argument against what is necessary for the maintenance of civilization:

"In every age and in every country the Church and the State have been the great centres of despotism. The Church and the State, the throne and the altar, the priests and the soldier, have ever made war on the people. It is the same to-day. In almost every age efforts have been made to reform the Church, to diminish its power, to free it from corruption. Rivers of blood have been shed, and thousands of martyrs have given up their lives for the purification of the Church. But the Church is still the great engine for enslaving the minds of men, for binding mankind in ignorance and superstition. And the same with the State. For how many generations have not the best of nature's nobles laboured and suffered and died in their endeavours to reform the State. But the State is still supreme. It is still the great centre of despotism, still the seat of

centralized tyranny. It still claims unquestioned obedience to its decrees. The State, like the Church, is a relic of barbarism. If we would raise men to dignity, in place of the Church we must have a free and rational system of education. If we would raise man to liberty, in place of the State we must have the free organization of society." ("Our Task To-day," "The Commonweal," Vol. 4, No. 137.)

We shall conclude our labors by setting down more than half a hundred enumerations of what shall not be in order to make place for "The Nation of Fatherless Children."

- 1st. Wages are abolished.
- 2d. Capital is abolished.
- 3d. Private property is abolished.
- 4th. Failures become an impossibility.
- 5th. Money will be a chimera.
- 6th. The relation of master and servant disappears.
- 7th. The ruling class expires.
- 8th. The proletariat extinguishes itself.
- 9th. Classes are abolished.
- 10th. In social relations the state becomes superfluous.
- 11th. Government over persons is abolished.
- 12th. Ministers disappear.
- 13th. Representatives disappear.
- 14th. Parliaments disappear.
- 15th. Police disappear.
- 16th. Armies disappear.
- 17th. Lawyers disappear.
- 18th. Public prosecutors disappear.
- 19th. Law courts disappear.
- 20th. Prisons disappear.
- 21st. Civil law disappears.
- 22d. Civil society disappears.
- 23d. Taxes disappear.
- 24th. Tax gatherers disappear.
- 25th. Political power is abolished.
- 26th. Officeholders disappear.
- 27th. The entire political apparatus is abolished.
- 28th. Political government is abolished.
- 29th. Binding contracts will be obsolete.
- 30th. Economic inequality will disappear.

- 31st. Prostitution will disappear.
- 32d. Civil marriage will disappear.
- 33d. Ecclesiastical marriage will disappear.
- 34th. Divorce courts will disappear.
- 35th. Parental authority over children will disappear.
- 36th. The private household will disappear.
- 37th. The right of inheritance will disappear.
- 38th. The Christian family will disappear.
- 39th. The Altar is abolished.
- 40th. The Throne is abolished.
- 41st. Religion expires.
- 42d. Tramps will be unknown.
- 43d. Vagabonds will be unknown.
- 44th. Thieves will be unknown.
- 45th. Perjurers will be unknown.
- 46th. Counterfeiters will be unknown.
- 47th. Fraud will be unknown.
- 48th. Hatred will be unknown.
- 49th. Revenge will be unknown.
- 50th. Arson will be unknown.
- 51st. Murder will be unknown.
- 52d. Blasphemy will be unknown.
- 53d. God will be unknown.
- 54th. The State will die out.
- 55th. Civilization ceases to be.

Aye, truly, the assault upon our country calls brave men to its defense.

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